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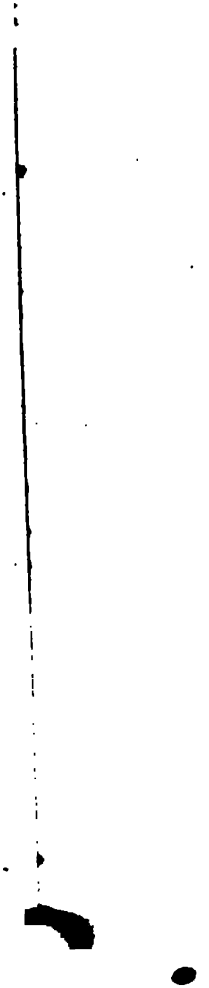

THE CENTENARY

LIFE OF O'CONNELL.

BY

THE REV. JOHN O'ROURKE, P.P. M.R.I.A.,

Author of "The History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847," &c., &c.

DUBLIN:
JAMES DUFFY AND SONS,
15, WELLINGTON-QUAY.
LONDON: 1A PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1875.

210. m. 479.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY J. M. O'TOOLE AND SON,
7, GREAT BRUNSWICK-STREET.

TO THE RIGHT HON.

PETER PAUL M'SWINEY.

LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.

My Lord Mayor,

There are many reasons why I should dedicate this volume to you. You are the Chief Magistrate of the Irish metropolis for the second time; and whilst in each term of your important and exalted office, you have realized the fondest hopes of your friends, you have also given unmixed satisfaction to the whole community. More than that—you have always been a true disciple of the Great Man whose incomparable services I have endeavoured to portray in these pages; you have laboured to push forward the completion of that glorious Monument, which the Nation has resolved to erect to him, and which circumstances have, unfortunately, prevented from being complete for our great Festival: You are the Chairman of our Centenary Committee.

Were I permitted to add another and a personal reason, it would be, the long unbroken friendship with which you have so kindly honoured me.

I remain, my dear Lord Mayor,

With profound respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

JOHN O'ROURKE.

PREFACE,

THE hundredth birth-day of O'Connell is considered a fitting occasion to publish such a biography of him as would give the Irish people, at home and abroad, an adequate idea of his life-long services. There are many amongst us yet who know these services from memory, and from the fact of their having aided him in his incessant—his herculean labours for his religion and his country. But years, and even months make such persons, alas! fewer and fewer.

Besides, a generation has sprung up since he rendered up his soul to God in Genoa the Superb, far from the land of his birth—of his labours—of his love: that generation ought to know the history of his life. It will fill them with gratitude towards him,—it will stimulate their patriotism,—it will inspire them to heroic deeds for their country; which claims the services of her children as a right, but deserves them on a thousand titles besides.

The Author entertains the hope, that he has placed the great leading events of the Liberator's life, truly and loyally before his fellow-*countrymen, in this* little volume.

THE CENTENARY

LIFE OF O'CONNELL.

CHAPTER I.

The O'Connell Family—Birthplace of O'Connell—The American War—First measure of Relief granted to the Catholics—French Revolution—More Concessions to the Catholics—O'Connell's School and College Days—Called to the Bar—His First Public Speech—Major Sirr—The Union—O'Connell Marries.

1775 to 1802.

"WHAT is your opinion about Clarke?" said O'Meara, one day, to Napoleon in St. Helena. He meant Henry James William Clarke, duke de Feltre. In replying to the question, the emperor, amongst other things, said: "He is infatuated with the notions of his nobility. He pretends that he is descended from the ancient kings of Scotland or Ireland, and constantly vaunts of his noble descent. I sent him to Florence as ambassador, where he employed himself in nothing but turning over the old musty records of the place, in search of proofs of the nobility of my family; for you must know that they came from Florence. He plagued me with letters upon this subject, which caused me to write to him to attend to the business for which he had been sent to Florence, and not to

trouble his head or mine with his nonsense; that I was the *first* of my family."

Something of the same kind may be said of the subject of this Memoir; for although descended from an ancient and princely line, Daniel O'Connell the Emancipator, the Liberator of the Irish nation, the idol of his countrymen, was, emphatically, the *first* of his family. Still we have evidence enough to prove that neither of those great men was indifferent to the position occupied by his ancestors, and O'Connell, on one occasion, expressed annoyance with a writer who said he was of humble origin.

The O'Connells are a very ancient and important family in Kerry. Gælic genealogists trace the sept, or clan O'Connell, back to Conary the 1st, monarch of Ireland, about the beginning of the Christian era. Kerry has for a very long period been the head quarters of the O'Connells, although branches of the family settled in Clare and Limerick. Their oldest possession in Kerry was the barony of Magunihy, or *Magh O'g Coinchinn*, and Mr. John O'Connell, the Liberator's son, begins the genealogical chart of the O'Connells of Kerry with Hugh O'Connell, lord of Magunihy and Aghadae in the time of Edward the Second. Later on they became lords of Iveragh in the same county.

Like numerous other Irish Catholic families, repeated confiscations reduced the O'Connells to a very limited inheritance; a proof of their fidelity to the land and the creed of their fathers.

Daniel O'Connell, the "Liberator," was the son of Morgan O'Connell and Kate O'Mullane, daughter of Mr. O'Mullane of Whitechurch, near Cork, and

was born on the 6th of August, 1775, at a place called Carhen, near the small town of Cahirciveen. "The house, now in ruins," says one of his biographers, "has become celebrated as the birthplace of O'Connell, and future generations will visit it as pilgrims, out of veneration to the memory of this great man."* In this statement there is a slight inaccuracy, for, according to the Liberator himself, the house now in ruins is not the one in which he was born; that event having taken place in a still older residence of the family, now entirely demolished, and which was replaced by the one at present in ruins.†

When O'Connell was born, the Penal Code, in the plenitude of its wickedness, was in full force; but just a little before that time, an event occurred in America which shed the first faint gleam of hope upon the poor fettered Irish serf. In 1773 the Americans rose against the taxes imposed upon their commerce by Great Britain, and, says the chronicler, "The populace of Boston destroy the tea from ships newly arrived from England, and become boldly discontented." This discontent, widespread and intense, soon burst into armed defiance; the battle of Lexington, the first between the mother country and her revolted colonies, was

* Fagan's "Life of O'Connell," vol. i., p. 5.

† "O'Connell and I were standing one morning on the high ground at Hillgrove, which overlooks his birthplace. Carhen House, where his father lived, is now in ruins. He pointed to the crumbling walls, and said, 'I was born there; but not in the house whose ruins you see. I was born in a house of which there is now no vestige, and of which the materials were used in constructing the edifice *now dilapidated.*'"—*Personal Recollections of O'Connell, by W. J. O'Neill Daunt, Esq.* Vol. ii., pp. 118-19.

fought in April, 1775; and although claimed as a victory for the British, their losses were so considerable, that they saw they could not long continue to pay so dearly for such doubtful successes.

The war was unpopular at home. Example is contagious; and the Minister naturally felt that the Irish bondman would be likely to take heart from the brave and defiant conduct of his American brother, and so create a new and a more-to-be-dreaded peril for England. It was therefore considered prudent by those in office—justice, of course, was not dreamed of in the case—but it was considered prudent, under such grave circumstances, to do something for the Catholics of Ireland. "It was resolved, therefore, in the Cabinet, that some popular measure of toleration should be brought forward in each Parliament [*i.e.*, both in the English and Irish Parliament]. But the mind of the public was not yet so broken in to this liberality, that the Minister dared to submit it to Parliament as a Government measure."*

The English House of Commons being in committee, to take into consideration the acts of parliament relating to the Irish trade, Earl Nugent (inspired by the Minister), took occasion to say, that "from a long series of unshaken loyalty the Irish were entitled to every encouragement which good and faithful subjects could deserve, and a wise and grateful government could give." He ended by a motion for permitting all sorts of Irish manufactures, woollen and woollen clothes excepted, to be sent in British ships to the coast of Africa and our settlements abroad." The motion

* *Plowden.* "*Historical* Review." Vol. i., p. 458.

was well received by the House, and Lord North, the Premier, gave it his hearty support. Mr. T. Townshend declared he should be glad to see some means adopted to grant such indulgences to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as might attach that great body of men to the present government. "Their affections had been alienated," he said, and "he wished to recal them by indulgent behaviour." Lord North agreed with Mr. Townshend, and "declared he would, with all his heart, concur in any measure that could tend to answer so desirable an end; but it was not their province; it was the province of the parliament of Ireland; the laws which were so severe against the Roman Catholics had originated there, and redress of domestic grievance should, of right, likewise originate from thence."* The bill in favour of Irish trade was violently opposed in the English House of Commons, and was postponed; but Sir George Savil's bill in favour of the English Catholics, which was, in fact, a bill to repeal substantially the 10th and 11th of William the Third, entitled "An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery," was carried without a division.† In a few days afterwards,

* Plowden. "Historical Review." Vol. i., p. 458.

† It was the passing of this bill which gave rise to the "No Popery" riots in London, in 1780. On the bill becoming law, various Protestant associations were formed with the object of getting it repealed, amongst them "The Protestant Association of London," of which Lord George Gordon, third son of the Duke of Gordon, was elected president. In June, 1780, this Association, to the number of 40,000, some say 100,000, assembled in St. George's Fields, whence they went in procession to the House of Commons to present a petition against the measure. Lord George addressed them in a speech of the most inflammatory and

namely, on the 25th of May, 1778, Mr. Gardiner proposed a bill in the Irish House of Commons for repealing some of the provisions of what Edmund Burke happily called the "ferocious statutes of Anne," which, although it had the full approval of government, and was less liberal than the English bill, met with the most determined opposition. It was at length carried through the House of Commons by the small majority of *nine*. The Lords appear to have acted more liberally, for in their house it was carried by thirty-six against twelve. This, the first relaxation of the Penal Code, enabled Catholics to hold leases for 999 years, and it further permitted that the lands *then* held by Catholics, should, in future, be descendible, deviseable, or alienable as fully as if they were seised or possessed by any other subject of his Majesty. These concessions were very important at the time, for they enabled the Catholics, to some extent, at least, to "root themselves in the soil."*

England settled her American difficulty by acknowledging the independence of her revolted

bigotted kind. Fearful riots throughout London was the result. The first objects of their fury were the Catholic Chapels, then the private houses of Catholics: emboldened by success, they broke some of the prisons and set the prisoners at liberty; and they even attacked the Bank of England. For nearly six days those phrenzied rioters were masters of London, the civil power being quite helpless all that time. The citizens at length began to arm in self-defence, and the horse and foot guards, and the militia of several counties being marched to London, the riots were put down. Thirty-six fires were seen blazing at one time during those riots. Many of the rioters were killed and wounded; many were tried, convicted, and executed; but, curiously enough, their leader was tried for High Treason and—acquitted!

* The Catholic Relief Act brought into the English

subjects on that continent, but she had scarcely done so when a still more terrible danger sprung up at her very threshold. The Parisians destroyed the Bastille in July, 1789; Louis the Sixteenth was brought to trial in December, '92; he was condemned and beheaded on the 21st of January,

Houses of Parliament in 1778 (the 18th of George III., cap. 60); was entitled "An Act for relieving his Majesty's subjects professing the Popish religion from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them, by an Act made in the 11th and 12th years of the reign of King William III., cap. 4, entitled an Act for the Further Preventing the Growth of Popery." It repealed so much of the latter Act as related to the apprehending, taking, or prosecuting of popish bishops, priests, or jesuits, and also so much of the said Act as subjected popish bishops, priests, or jesuits, and papists, or persons professing the popish religion, and keeping school, or taking upon themselves the education, or government, or boarding of youth within the realm or the dominions thereunto belonging, to perpetual imprisonment;" and also so much of the said Act as "disabled persons educated in the popish religion, or professing the same, under the circumstances therein mentioned, to inherit, or take by descent, devise or limitation in possession, revision, or remainder, any lands, tenements or hereditaments within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and gave to the next of kin, being a Protestant, a right to have and enjoy such lands, tenements, and hereditaments;" and also so much of the said Act as "disabled papists, or persons professing the popish religion to purchase any manors, lands, profits out of lands, tenements, rents, terms, or hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed;" declaring that "all, singular, estates, terms, and other interests or profits whatsoever out of lands, to be made, suffered, or done from and after the day therein mentioned to or for the use or behoof of any such person or persons, or upon any trust or confidence, mediately or immediately, for the relief of any such person or persons, *shall be,* and the same and every clause and matter and *thing hereinbefore* mentioned is and are hereby repealed."

'93; the Republic was proclaimed and France declared war against England on the 1st. of February,—a new chance for the Catholics of Ireland, for, as O'Connell said, so frequently afterwards, "'England's difficulties are Ireland's opportunities." So it turned out on this occasion. On the 14th of the same month, just one fortnight after the declaration of war, Mr. Hobart, the Irish Secretary, presented a petition from a body of Catholics, and took the opportunity of describing a "Relief Bill" which he intended to introduce. This was the famous Act of 1793, which the Irish Parliament passed with considerable celerity, for it received the Royal Assent on the 9th of April. By it the following privileges were conceded to the Catholics:—1. It enabled them to vote for members of Parliament. 2. It allowed them to be called to the Bar. 3. It enabled them to vote for municipal officers. 4. It permitted them to carry arms, provided they possessed a certain freehold and personal estate, and took certain oaths. 5. It declared them qualified to serve on juries. 6. It threw open to them commissions in the army and navy, excepting the higher grades, from which they were excluded.

This, the Emancipation Act of 1793, as it was called, was received by the Catholics with joy and gratitude. It certainly gave important civil and political rights, and opened careers in life for educated Catholics; O'Connell could not have been a barrister only for one of its provisions It half unpinioned Ireland, and thereby enabled her to struggle with increased power and success for *complete* freedom.

O'Connell was adopted by his uncle, Maurice,

the owner of Derrynane, from whom he inherited that now celebrated place. At the age of thirteen he, together with his brother Maurice, whom his uncle had also adopted, was sent to the school of the Rev. Mr. Harrington, at a place called Redington, in the Long Island, two miles from Cove, now Queenstown; being the first school publicly opened and held by a Catholic priest since the penal laws. "Here," says one of his schoolfellows, "he did not display any precocity of intellect, and he was regarded as an ordinary scholar." Very likely. Doubtless there were many precocious boys in Rev. Mr. Harrington's school, who were never heard of afterwards. Precociousness is not the most hopeful sign of future success, for great minds are frequently slow of developement. The young Daniel O'Connell, however, gave early signs of industry and capacity, for he told Mr. O'Neill Daunt on one occasion, that he learned the alphabet in an hour. Mr. John O'Connell, in his Memoirs of his father, says, "an hour and a half." His account of this early success is full and interesting. "A poor old hedge schoolmaster, by name David Mahony," he writes, "may be given to fame, as the first person who taught Daniel O'Connell his letters; and the story of his achievement is not without a moral to those who have the instruction of children. Happening upon one of his rounds in quest of charitable assistance, to visit Carhen House, he had taken young 'Dan,' then four years old, upon his lap, and was playing with him; when perceiving that the child's hair, which was long, had got much tangled from exercise, he took out a box-comb and combed it thoroughly, without *hurting the* child, as the rough country maids

scarcely ever failed to do. In gratitude for exemption from his usual torture, the child readily consented to learn his letters from the old man; and in the short space of an hour and a half learned *the whole alphabet* perfectly and permanently."* He said of himself, "I was, in childhood, remarkably quick and persevering. My childish propensity to idleness was overcome by the fear of disgrace; I desired to excel, and could not brooke the idea of being inferior to others. One day I was idle, and my teacher finding me imperfect in my lesson, threatened to beat me. But I shrank from the indignity, exclaiming, 'Oh, don't beat me for one half hour! If I haven't my lesson by that time, beat me *then*.' The teacher granted me the reprieve, and a lesson, rather a difficult one, was thoroughly learned."†

O'Connell remained but one year in the Rev. Mr. Harrington's school; he was then sent for greater educational advantages to the Continent. Liege seems to have been the first college thought of for him by his uncle, but on arriving there he was found to have passed the age when he could be admitted a student. He and his brother Maurice, who accompanied him, went back to Louvain to await orders from home. The period necessary for this was six weeks, during which time Maurice amused himself in every way he could, while Dan attended class in one of the halls of Louvain, as a volunteer, and before letters arrived from home he had risen to a

* "Sketch of the Life of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., by his son John O'Connell, M.P. p. 6.

† "*Personal recollections* of O'Connell, by W. J. O'Neill *daunt, vol. i. p. 116.*

high place in a class of one hundred and twenty boys.

"Their uncle's new orders were that they should go to St. Omer; whither, accordingly, they proceeded, and remained a year, viz.:—from early in the year 1791 till a similar period of 1792, when they were removed to the English College at Douay, for some months. Mr. O'Connell soon rose to the first places in all the classes at St. Omer's. His two close pressing rivals have since, each of them, reached the highest grade of their respective professions."*

O'Connell and his brother were driven from Douay by the atrocities of the French Revolution, and the evident approach of war. The date of his leaving is given by himself in the following anecdote: Dr. Madden, the author of the "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," and my esteemed friend, called upon him one day, and as he entered the apartment in which O'Connell sat, the latter cried out, "Oh Madden, I was thinking as I read your book how glad you would have been to learn a trifling incident I could have told you about the Shearses. I travelled with them in the Calais packet to England in 1793. I left Douay on the 21st of January in that year, and arrived in Calais the very day the news arrived that the king had been guillotined. The packet had several English on board, who all, like myself, seemed to have been made confirmed aristocrats by the sanguinary horrors of the Revolution.

* They were the Rt. Rev. Dr. Walsh, bishop of the Midland District in England, and Christopher Eagan, who became a General, and Judge-Advocate General in India.—*John O'Connel's Memoirs of his Father.*

They were talking of the execution of the king, and execrating the barbarity of his murderers, when two gentlemen entered the cabin, a tall man and a low one, these were the Shearses. Hearing the horrible doings at Paris spoken of, John Sheares said, 'We were at the execution.' 'Good heaven!' exclaimed one of the Englishmen, 'how could you have got there?' 'By bribing two of the National Guard to lend us their uniforms,' answered Sheares, we obtained a most excellent view of the entire scene.' 'But in God's name how could you endure to witness such a hideous spectacle?' resumed the Englishman. John Shears answered energetically—I never can forget his manner of pronouncing the words, '*From Love of the Cause!*' The Sheares then displayed a bloody handkerchief, being one they had themselves imbued in the blood of the slaughtered monarch."

Dr. Madden said he would far prefer to have received some anecdote favourable to the character of the Sheares, instead of one which inculpated them in the sanguinary brutality of Jacobinism.

O'Connell was called to the bar in what the old people used to call "the year of the Rebellion"—1798. His immediate success may not seem very wonderful to some modern lawyers, but, for the time, and for a young Catholic barister, with everything against him, it was remarkable. "The first year I was at the bar," he said to Mr. Daunt, "I made £58; the second year about £150; the third year £200: the fourth year about three hundred guineas. I then advanced rapidly; and

* "Personal Recollections of O'Connell," by Mr. J. O'N. Daunt, *vol. ii., p. 94.* Mr. John O'Connell also relates this anecdote in the Memoir of his father.

the last year of my practice I got £9,000, although I lost one term."*

It was the decided wish of his friends that the young councillor should abstain from politics. He was a Catholic, and only seven years had elapsed since a Catholic was permitted to become a lawyer. The times were perilous, and no lawyer could hope to rise in his profession, if he became a public man, unless he was willing to give a slavish support to the government; and indeed it was not safe for either Catholic or Protestant to give it any very active opposition.

O'Connell always felt proud of the fact that his first appearance as a public man was in opposition to the Union; and that the speech which he made on the occasion contained the principles of his political life. "It is a curious thing enough," said he, "that all the principles of my subsequent political life are contained in my very first speech."†

The following is the speech referred to; it was delivered in the Royal Exchange, Dublin, on the 13th of January, 1800.

"Counsellor O'Connell rose, and in a short speech, prefaced the resolutions. He said that the question of Union was confessedly one of the first importance and magnitude. Sunk, indeed, in more than criminal apathy must the Irishman be, who could feel indifference on the subject. It was a measure, to the consideration of which we were called by every illumination of the understanding, and every feeling of the heart. There was, there-

* "I think I have stated those sums correctly, but am not quite certain."—*Personal Recollections of O'Connell, vol. i., p. 104.*

† "*Personal* Recollections of O'Connell, vol. ii., p. 110.

fore, no necessity to apologise for the introducing the discussion of the question amongst Irishmen. But before he brought forward any resolution, he craved permission to make a few observations on the causes which produced the necessity of meeting as Catholics—as a separate and distinct body. In doing so, he thought he could clearly show that they were justifiable in, at length, deviating from a resolution which they had heretofore formed. The enlightened mind of the Catholics had taught them the impolicy, the illiberality, and the injustice of separating themselves, on any occasion, from the rest of the people of Ireland,—the Catholics had, therefore, resolved—and they had wisely resolved —never more to appear before the public as a distinct and separate body; but they did not—they could not then foresee the unfortunately existing circumstances of this moment. They could not then foresee that they would be reduced to the necessity either of submitting to the disgraceful imputation of approving of a measure as detestable to them as it was ruinous to their country, or once again—and he trusted for the last time—of coming forward as a distinct body.

"There was no man present but was acquainted with the industry with which it was circulated that the Catholics were favourable to the Union:— in vain did multitudes of that body, in different capacities, express their disapprobation of the measure; in vain did they concur with others of their fellow-subjects, in expressing their abhorrence of it—as freemen or freeholders—electors of counties or inhabitants of cities—still the calumny was *repeated; it was printed* in journal after journal; *it was published* in pamphlet after pamphlet: it

was circulated with activity in private companies; it was boldly and loudly proclaimed in public assemblies. How this clamour was raised, and how it was supported was manifest—the motives of it were apparent.

"In vain did the Catholics, individually, endeavour to resist the torrent. Their future efforts, as individuals, would be equally vain and fruitless; they must, then, oppose it collectively.

"There was another reason why they should come forward as a distinct class—a reason which, he confessed, had made the greatest impression upon his feelings; not content with falsely asserting that the Catholics favoured the extinction of Ireland, this, their supposed inclination was attributed to the foulest motives—motives which were most repugnant to their judgments and most abhorrent to their hearts; it was said that the Catholics were ready to sell their country for a price, or what was still more depraved, to abandon it on account of the unfortunate animosities which the wretched temper of the times had produced; can they remain silent under so horrible a calumny? This calumny was flung on the whole body; it was incumbent on the whole body to come forward and contradict it; yes, they will show every friend of Ireland that the Catholics are incapable of selling their country; they will loudly declare that if their emancipation was offered for their consent to the measure, even were emancipation after the Union a benefit, they would reject it with prompt indignation. (*This sentiment met with approbation*).

"Let us," said he, "show to Ireland that we have nothing in view but her good, nothing in our hearts *but* a desire of mutual forgiveness, mutual

toleration, and mutual affection; in fine, let every man who feels with me proclaim, that if the alternative were offered to him of Union or the re-enactment of the Penal Code in all its pristine horrors, that he would prefer without hesitation the latter, as the lesser and more sufferable evil; that he would rather confide in the justice of his brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated him, than lay his country at the feet of foreigners. (*This sentiment met with much and marked approbation.*) With regard to the Union, so much had been said—so much had been written on the subject, that it was impossible that any man should not before now have formed an opinion on it. He would not trespass on their attention in repeating arguments which they had already heard, and topics which they had already considered. But if there was any man present who would be so far mentally degraded as to consent to the extinction of the liberty, the constitution, and even the name of Ireland, he would call on him not to leave the direction and management of his commerce and property to strangers, over whom he could have no control."

In this speech O'Connell does three principal things: 1. He apologizes for the Catholics having met as a distinct and separate body. In doing so, he showed that he believed there was no real strength except in united action; and there can be no doubt but the whole of his political life was devoted to the carrying out of this principle. Before Emancipation the Catholics were, of course, obliged to put forward their claims *as* Catholics, inasmuch as they were excluded from *many benefits because they were Catholics*, but

O'Connell thoroughly felt that the true strength of Ireland lay in a union of all her sons, and nothing afforded him greater pleasure than when enlightened and liberal Protestants joined him and his fellow-Catholics in battling for Emancipation. He often said, in the spirit of a sentiment contained in the above speech, that he would postpone the Catholic claims, if his Protestant fellow-countrymen would join him in demanding legislative independence; and that he would trust to their sense of justice to free the Catholics when there would be a parliament in College-green. Comparatively late in life he spent five years trying to conciliate the Orangemen of Ulster. It was the merest waste of time, but it showed how true he was to his early principles.

2. He next explains why the Catholics met as a distinct body; they were calumniated as a distinct body, and it was their duty to repel the calumny in that capacity. The calumny was, that the Catholics were favourable to the Union. Individual repudiation of this was not enough; it was proper and necessary for the Catholics to repudiate it as a collective body. The reason assigned for the Catholics giving their support to the Union was a still wickeder calumny; namely, that they were ready to sell their country and accept the Union if the Government gave them Emancipation in return. This O'Connell repelled with becoming indignation, asserting that he would sooner accept the re-enactment of the whole Penal Code than be a party to such a wicked compromise.

3. He finally appeals to the personal interests and good sense of his hearers; conjuring them not to entrust the management of their commerce and

property to strangers. How often, during the Repeal agitation, did he not iterate this saying: "Are we not able to manage our own affairs?" he would say. "Would any sensible man entrust his affairs to others who was perfectly capable of managing them himself?"

The great leading principle put forward in this, the Liberator's first speech, is, that the interests of Ireland should be preferred to and placed above the interests of party; and that the Irish people, forgetting party and sectarian differences, should unite and work together for the good of their country; a principle which was always a leading part of his political creed.

Quiet and constitutional as was the Catholic meeting at the Royal Exchange, an attempt was made by the tools of an unprincipled and unscrupulous government to overawe it. O'Connell himself gives an account of this circumstance. "We met at the Royal Exchange," said he, "to denounce the Union as Catholics. We had previously held private meetings at the house of Sir James Strong, who was active enough at first, but refused to be our chairman. So we made Ambrose Moore our chairman—a very worthy citizen. It was Curran who drew up our resolutions. They were very fiery and spirited in their original shape, but were modified into comparative tameness, to suit the timidity of some of our friends, in those days of terror and brute force. Major Sirr came in to the meeting at the head of a party of armed yeomanry. They grounded their arms with a heavy clash on the stone pavement, but did not molest us. Sirr *asked* to be shown the resolutions, and when he *had read them, he* threw them back on the table

saying 'there is no harm in them.' He then walked off with his yeomanry, and left us undisturbed."*

Referring to this speech in one of his conversations with Mr. Daunt, O'Connell said that he never wrote a speech beforehand; but of this, his first speech, he wrote the heads, (a practice he frequently observed at subsequent periods); and after it was delivered he reported it at full length for *The Dublin Evening Post.* He contrasted his embarrassment when making this speech with the ease and self possession acquired by subsequent practice. "My face glowed," said he, "and my ears tingled at the sound of my own voice, but I got more courage as I went on."†

But the Union war carried. When we come to deal with the wonderful confederacy called into existence by O'Connell, to effect its repeal we shall have a full opportunity of dealing with the subject. Here, a word or two will not be out of place. 1. That Mr. Pitt winked at and permitted the formation and spread of the Society of the United Irishmen, in order that they might be compelled to break into rebellion, at the moment he thought most advantageous to enable him to carry the Union, there can be no doubt. Lord Clare said in the Imperial Parliament, in 1801, that the government

* *Personal Recollections of O'Connell,* by W. J. O'Neill Daunt. Vol. ii., p. 111. Mr. John O'Connell, the Liberator's son, speaking of this meeting says, the resolutions were drawn up by his father. The probability is, that in their original state they were prepared by Curran, but that when they were thought too strong to be safe, the task of toning them down was entrusted to O'Connell, who had the chief hand in organizing the meeting.—See O'Connell's *Speeches,* edited by his son. Vol. i., p. 10.

† *Personal Recollections of* O'Connell. Vol. i., pp. 203-4.

learned nothing from the state prisoners in 1798, *which they had not been fully acquainted with before.* 2. On the 30th of March, 1798, *while there was yet no rebellion,* all Ireland was placed under martial law; there was at the time a vast number of troops in the country; it is said one hundred and thirty thousand; and the magistrates went about with detachments of them, insulting the people, putting them in fear and dread of their lives, and torturing them under pretence of extorting confessions about united men and rebels. "Archibald Hamilton Jacob and the Enniscorthy yeomen cavalry," says Miles Byrne, "never marched out of the town without being accompanied by a regular executioner, with his ropes, cat o'nine tails, etc." 3. "Free quarters were allowed to the troops; that is, the soldiers were sent to live in the houses of farmers and others, free of charge. The persecution thus suffered by a quiet and virtuous people, from a wicked and licentious soldiery, is simply indescribable. It was done to madden them into rebellion. "Pray, Mr. Emmet," said Lord Clare, in the secret Committee of August, 1798, "what caused the late insurrection?" "The free quarters, house burnings, tortures, and the military executions in the Counties of Kildare, Carlow and Wicklow." was the answer. In the report from the secret committee, presented to the Irish House of Commons in 1798, drawn up in Lord Castlereagh's office by Mr. Knox, under his lordship's immediate direction, the following passage occurrs at page 26,—"*That from the vigorous and summary expedients resorted to by the Government, and the consequent exertion of the military, the leaders found themselves reduced to the alternative* of immediate

insurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpose; and that to this cause is to be exclusively attributed that *premature and desperate effort, the rashness of which has so evidently facilitated its suppression.*" 4. The attempts of the nation to express its opposition to the Union, were put down in the most arbitrary and unconstitutional manner. "Every artifice that could be suggested was resorted to; influence, threats, and military power were made use of to procure what the noble lord is pleased to term the *unbiassed* sense of the country."* The High Sheriff of the Queen's County called a meeting in Maryborough to petition against the Union. It was dispersed at the point of the bayonet, by Colonel Connor and two regiments of infantry. The same thing was done in Tipperary under similar circumstances. Sir Laurence Parsons relates what happened in his own town of Birr. The High Sheriff having refused to call a meeting of the county, the freeholders and a number of the landowners proceeded to hold a meeting. The High Sheriff entered the Court-house, and told them that unless they withdrew the military would be called out to disperse them. They proceeded with the meeting, but a gentleman soon entered in breathless haste, and told them the garrison was turned out, and was marching on the Court-house; and not only was this the case, but the soldiers had actually with them four pieces of artillery and lighted matches! A certain Major Rogers commanded them, and when expostulated with, he replied,

* Sir Laurence Parsons, in Irish House of Commons, 5th February, *1800.*

that "if he had got but one word from the Sheriff he would have knocked the Court-house about their ears." In striking contrast with these facts there is another: felons in the jails got the pardon or their sentence commuted, by signing papers eulogistic of the Union, or by forging names to such eulogiums."* 5. After all this dragooning and wickedness, the Union could not be carried without the most wholesale and open bribery. Lord Castlereagh boldly announced that he would turn the scale by bribes; and a million and a half of money was voted by parliament for this purpose. The whole cost of carrying the Union has been estimated as follows:—Expenses of extra military in Ireland for four years, £16,000,000; purchase of the Irish Parliament, £1,500,000; payment to suffering loyalists, £1,500,000; secret service money £553,547; pensions, probably, £1,000,000; expenses of removing public offices to London, and compensating retiring officers, £500,000. In all, £21,053,547 ! †

O'Connell married in June, 1802, when he was within a few weeks of completing his twenty-seventh year. The object of his choice was Miss Mary O'Connell, the daughter of a physician in Tralee, and a kinswoman of his own. She was dowerless; and as his friends believed it to be a very important thing for the young lawyer to get a wife with a fortune, he concealed his marriage for some months. He had serious fears that his uncle Maurice would

* *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation.* By Sir Jonah Barrington. Paris edition, p. 448.

† *The Rights of Ireland*: Repeal prize essay, by Rev. J. Godkin, p. 102.

disinherit him on hearing of it. However, by degrees, all was made smooth and agreeable. He was specially fortunate in his choice of a wife; and he frequently spoke in the most earnest and feeling manner of the virtues and amiable qualities of Mrs. O'Connell, and of the happiness of his domestic circle.

CHAPTER II.

State of the Catholic Cause—No Progress—John Keogh—Agitation for a Repeal of the Union—Manly and Patriotic declaration of O'Connell—Madness of George the Third—Biddy Moriarty—The Veto—Most Rev. Dr. Murray on the Veto, (*note*)—Trial of John Magee for Libel—Attack on the Catholics by the Attorney General—O'Connell's Great Speech—The Verdict—Another Encounter with Saurin—The Kilkenny Resolution—Magee Repudiates O'Connell as his Advocate.

O'CONNELL continued to apply himself with assiduity to his profession, and his reputation for legal ability steadily increased. It was very difficult to make any progress with the Catholic cause at this time. The Rebellion of '98; the events of 1800; and the deplorable occurrences of 1803, nearly put all constitutional action in abeyance, yet the Catholic Board continued to exist, and in 1804 was thought important enough to be suppressed by a government proclamation, but it was revived under another name, that of the Catholic Committee.

The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended from 1804

to 1807; during which time, and indeed until 1810, the agitation for Catholic rights made little or no progress. Meetings were held, resolutions were proposed and passed, but no very active measures were taken. The truth is, the agitation and ventilation of Catholic grievances came from the few peers and respectable commoners who remained to the Catholics, after the well gleaned harvest of confiscations; and at all the meetings of the Catholic body it seemed to be felt, that nothing could be done, unless they had a peer in the chair, and a peer or two more to propose or second resolutions. The whole business was conducted on a false principle. The leaders, as Lord Fingal said on his death bed, forgot that "they had a nation behind them;" and instead of falling back upon that nation, they clung to a few respectable names. It must be admitted, no doubt, that John Keogh of Mount Jerome, a man of rare good sense and business habits, became the leader of the organization, such as it was; but even he was only tolerated, and that was on account of the valuable qualities which he possessed. The agitation was, for a long time, if not ostensibly, really and substantially for the removal of the grievances which pressed upon the *elite* of the Catholic body. And beyond all doubt, this small and *elite* body should have received much consideration at the hands of England, for it will, I think, be found that scarcely a single Catholic held a title or a foot of Irish soil, at the period of which I write, except through the support which their ancestors, one time or other, gave to the *English* colony in Ireland.

It argues much wisdom in a man to be able to

keep abreast of events; the fiery spirit dashes in advance of them, age and prudence often lag behind them. John Keogh was, probably, the best leader the Catholic body could have had for years, but the time came when his policy must be replaced by a bolder one. Pitt played fast and loose with the Catholic body when carrying his darling measure, the Union. He resigned office in 1801. The reason for this step, it was industriously circulated by his friends, was, that, in honor, he felt committed to Catholic Emancipation, but as, on account of the King's deadly hostility he could not carry it, he resigned. His resignation is accounted for on other and far better grounds, namely the failure of his foreign policy, and the unpopularity of the war with France, which crippled trade and loaded the people with taxes. "No human being," says Mr Plowden, who was a mild man, and rather a favorer of the Union, "no human being acquainted with public affairs ever believed that Mr Pitt resigned office at that time, on account of the Catholic Question, or any other Irish Question whatever." After his resignation he still sat on the ministerial benches, the new government, under, Mr. Addington refusing to take office without receiving his support. He became first minister again in 1804, and the Catholics assuming that, at the Union he had promised to emancipate them, selected the very pick of their body to wait on him. They did so, and laid before him three resolutions:

1. That he should present the petition they bore, and introduce a measure of emancipation.

2. That he should present the petition and pass a *resolution* in favour of it.

3. That he should simply present, and move it to lie on the table.

Even the last small favour he refused, because of the "obstacles," as he said, "in a certain quarter." Which meant the obstinate determination of George III. not to grant any further concession to the Catholics.*

The Whigs attained to power in 1806, under Lord Granville. They were the supporters of Catholic Emancipation, and the Catholics were elated by the fact; but they were *divided* as well as elated. The supporters of the new Government said:—"They are your friends; but do not embarrass them by putting forward your claims, wait awhile." John Keogh took this view and maintained that, "dignified silence" was the true policy. O'Connell was against it, and held that silence would only relieve the enemies of the Catholics in parliament from the annoyance of agitation and petitions. He might have further said, that if the government were sincere, agitation and petitions would strengthen their hands. At the meeting of the Catholics in the Assembly Rooms, in William-street, where this question was debated, O'Connell's advice prevailed over Mr. Keogh's by a majority of 134 to 110. Mr Keogh was not present until the meeting was in the act of dividing; had he been present earlier the result might have been different; he was only in to witness the defeat of his own views. At this meeting his policy of delay, well meant, no doubt, may be said to have come to an end, and O'Connell's immortal flag, bearing the words, "Agitate, Agitate, Agitate," was hoisted, *and the nation* rallied round it and fought under it

* *Life and Speeches of O'Connell*, by his son. Vol. i., p. 28.

until it won complete unqualified Emancipation. O'Connell was now the undisputed leader of the Irish people.

A Repeal agitation rose in 1810, and, strange to say, it rose in the Orange Corporation of Dublin. When the Union was to be carried in spite of the feelings and the strenuous opposition of the Irish people, the most lavish promises were made, and exaggerated pictures drawn of the prosperity which would result from it to Ireland. Those misrepresentations did not require the experience of years to falsify them, for they were never credited even by those who put them forward; but it did require some experience to make the disastrous effects of the Union felt. The exclusively Protestant Corporation of Dublin was made up of citizens, whose prosperity depended on the trade and commerce of the country, and more especially of Dublin. Ten years of the Union opened their eyes, and made them see clearly, that for all they had lost, their return was, decaying trade—a crumbling city—deserted mansions.

The Common Council of Dublin met on the 4th of May, 1810, and agreed to petition parliament for a Repeal of the Union. At the close of the meeting the management of the business was entrusted to a committee of Aldermen and Common Councilmen. The twenty-three names which we find on that Committee were those of some of the most influential and wealthy merchants and traders in the city. But the Corporation did not rest satisfied with action within its own immediate body. Sir James Riddall, the High Sheriff of the city, called a meeting of the *freemen and* freeholders in the Royal Exchange,

in order to adopt a petition on the same subject, and, taking the chair on the occasion, he said "he addressed the most numerous and respectable auditory that ever assembled in the city of Dublin." Mr. Hutton proposed a resolution for the formation of a committee to prepare a petition both to the King and to parliament, for a Repeal of the Union, and the resolution was carried "without one dissenting voice." O'Connell spoke at this meeting. He recounted the disastrous results of the Union. "In the melancholy ten years since the Union, Ireland," he said, "saw her artificers starved, her tradesmen begging, her merchants become bankrupts, her gentry banished, her nobility degraded." He denied the right of the representatives of Ireland to pass the Act of Union, "they were elected only for eight years," said he, "they had no authority to dispose of their country "for ever." It was at the same meeting the future Liberator made this manly and patriotic declaration: "Learn discretion from your enemies, they have crushed your country by fomenting religious discord, serve her by abandoning it for ever. Let each man give up his share of the mischief, let each man forsake every feeling of rancour. But, I say not this to barter with you, my countrymen—I require no equivalent from you—whatever course you shall take, my mind is fixed—I trample under foot the Catholic claims, if they can interfere with Repeal; I abandon all wish for Emancipation, if it delays Repeal. Nay, were Mr. Perceval, to-morrow, to offer me the Repeal of the Union, upon the terms of re-enacting the entire Penal *Code,* I declare it from my heart, and in the *presence of my God, that* I would most cheerfully

embrace his offer. Let us then, my beloved countrymen, sacrifice our wicked and groundless animosities on the altar of our country—Let that spirit which heretofore emanating from Dungannon spread all over the island, and gave light and liberty to the land, be again cherished among us—let us rally round the standard of old Ireland, and we shall easily procure the greatest of political blessings, an Irish King, an Irish House of Lords, and an Irish House of Commons." (Long-continued applause greeted those sentiments.)

Unfortunately this hopeful beginning of a national movement to repeal the Union, was without result. George the III. was for some time known to be insane, his madness had now become a public and acknowledged fact, and the minds of men became excited, and so many interests were concerned in the appointment of a Regent, that the Repeal of the Union, as well as other political questions were lost sight of. Besides, the coalition between Protestants and Catholics at the meeting in the Royal Exchange, alarmed those who ruled Ireland, and who were determined to rule it, by division. So, religious animosities were stirred up, and by diplomatic management and dexterous generalship, Orange and Green were, once again, manoeuvred into separate camps, where they were incited to fly at the throats of each other, at the word, and in order to perpetuate the wicked policy of the immitigable and unscrupulous enemies of both.

The country is full of specimens of O'Connell's happy quickness of retort, ready wit, and abundant humour. It may be added, that he plumed himself not a little on his powers as a scold.

One of the drollest scenes of vituperation that

O'Connell ever figured in took place in the early part of his life. Not long after he was called to the bar, his character and peculiar talents received rapid recognition from all who were even casually acquainted with him. His talent for vituperative language was perceived, and by some he was, even in those days, considered matchless as a scold. There was, however, at that time in Dublin, a certain woman, Biddy Moriarty, who had a huxter's stall on one of the quays, nearly opposite the Four Courts. She was a virago of the first order, very able with her fist, and still more formidable with her tongue. From one end of Dublin to the other, she was notorious for her powers of abuse, and even in the provinces Mrs. Moriarty's language had passed into currency. The dictionary of Dublin slang had been considerably enlarged by her, and her voluble impudence had almost become proverbial. Some of O'Connell's friends, however, thought that he could beat her at the use of her own weapons. Of this, however, he had some doubts when he had listened himself once or twice to some minor specimens of her Billingsgate.

It was mooted once, whether the young Kerry barrister could encounter her, and some one of the company (in O'Connell's presence) rather too freely ridiculed the idea of his being able to meet the famous Madame Moriarty. O'Connell never liked the idea of being put down, and he professed his readiness to encounter her, and even backed himself for the match. Bets were offered and taken—it was decided that the matter should come off at once.

The party adjourned to the huxter's stall, and *there was the owner* herself, superintending the sale

of her small wares—a few loungers and ragged idlers were hanging round her stall—for Biddy was "a character," and, in her way, was one of the sights of Dublin.

O'Connell was very confident of success. He had laid an ingenious plan for overcoming her, and with all the anxiety of an ardent experimentalist, waited to put it into practice. He resolved to open the attack. At this time O'Connell's own party and the loungers about the place formed an audience quite sufficient to rouse Mrs. Moriarty, on public provocation, to a due exhibition of her powers.

O'Connell commenced the attack:—

"What's the price of this walking-stick, Mrs. What's-your-name?"

"Moriarty, sir, is my name, and a good one it is; and what have you to say agen it? And one-and-sixpence 's the price of the stick. Troth it's chape as dirt—so it is."

"One-and-sixpence for a walking stick; whew! Why, you are no better than an impostor, to ask eighteen pence for what cost you two pence."

"Two pence, your grandmother," replied Miss Biddy; "do you mane to say it's chating the people I am? Impostor, indeed!"

"Ay, impostor; and it's that I call you to your teeth," rejoined O'Connell.

"Come, cut your stick, you cantankerous jackanapes."

"Keep a civil tongue in your head, you old *diagonal*," cried O'Connell, calmly.

"Stop your jaw, you pug-nosed badger, or by this and that," cried Mrs. Moriarty, "I'll make you go quicker nor you came."

"Don't be in a passion, my old *radius*—anger will only wrinkle your beauty."

'By the hokey, if you say another word of impudence, I'd tan your dirty hide, you bastely common scrub; and sorry I'd be to soil my fists upon your carcase."

"Whew! boys, what a passion old Biddy is in; I protest, as I'm a gentleman——"

"Jintleman! jintleman! the likes of you a jintleman! Wisha, by gor, that bangs Banagher. Why, you potato-faced pippin-sneezer, where did a Madagascar monkey like you pick up enough of common Christian decency to hide your Kerry brogue?"

"Easy now—easy now," cried O'Connell, with imperturbable good humour, "don't choke yourself with fine language, you old whiskey-drinking *parallelogram*."

"What's that you call me, you murderin' villain?" roared Mrs. Moriarty, stung to fury.

"I call you," answered O'Connell, "a parallelogram; and a Dublin judge and jury will say that it's no libel to call you so."

"Oh, tare-an-ouns! oh, holy Biddy! that an honest woman like me should be called a parrybellygrum to her face. I'm none of your parrybellygrums, you rascally gallows-bird; you cowardly, sneaking, plate lickin' bliggard!"

"Oh, not you, indeed!" retorted O'Connell; "why, I suppose you'll deny that you keep a *hypothenuse* in your house."

"It's a lie for you, you b——y robber; I never had such a thing in my house, you swindling thief."

"*Why, sure all the* neighbours know very well

that you keep not only a hypothenuse, but that you have two *diameters* locked up in your garret, and that you go out to walk with them every Sunday, you heartless old *heptagon*."

"Oh, hear that, ye saints in glory! Oh, there's bad language from a fellow that wants to pass for a jintleman. May the divil fly away with you, you micher from Munster, and make celery sauce of your rotten limbs, you mealy-mouthed tub of guts."

"Ah, you can't deny the charge, you miserable *submultiple* of a *duplicate ratio*."

"Go rinse your mouth in the Liffey, you nasty tickle-pitcher; after all the hard words you speak it ought to be filthier, you dirty chicken of Belzebub."

"Rinse your own mouth, you wicked-minded old *polygon*—to the deuce I pitch you, you blustering intersection of a st——ng *superficies*."

"You saucy tinker's apprentice, if you don't cease your jaw, I'll———." But here she gasped for breath, unable to hawk up any more words, for the last volley of O'Connell had nearly knocked the wind out of her.

"Whilst I have a tongue I'll abuse you, you most inimitable *periphery*. Look at her, boys! There she stands a convicted *perpendicular* in petticoats! There's contamination in her *circumference*, and she trembles with guilt down to the extremities of her *corollaries*. Ah! you're found out, you *rectilineal anticedent* and *equiangular* old hag! It's with you the devil will fly away, you porter-swiping *similitude* of the *bisection of a vortex!*"

Overwhelmed with this torrent of language, Mrs. Moriarty was silenced. Catching up a saucepan,

she was aiming at O'Connell's head, when he, very prudently made a timely retreat.

"You have won the wager, O'Connell; here's your bet," cried the gentleman who proposed the contest.

O'Connell knew well the use of sound in vituperation, and having to deal with an ignorant scold, determined to overcome her in volubility by using all the *sesquipedalia verba* which occur in Euclid. With these, and a few significant epithets, and a scoffing impudent demeanour, he had for once imposed silence on Biddy Moriarty.*

That the above renowned encounter took place, and that Mrs. Moriarty was worsted, is, I believe, historically true. The means taken by O'Connell to secure success were, no doubt, ingenious as they were laughable, but it is only bare justice to Biddy Moriarty, to say: 1. That I have a suspicion amounting almost to conviction that she was not well and fully reported; there is plenty of internal evidence for this. 2. That, at any rate, she was not fairly treated in the transaction. O'Connell and his friends planned the attack on the poor women, and (so to speak), he went into training for it; being fully prepared, he comes up to Mrs. Moriarty and addresses her as any ordinary customer would; so that she is thrown perfectly off her guard. It is more than probable that she would have been vanquished in any case;—as it was, she did not receive that fair play which common justice and the laws of the P. R. would have conceded to her.

More than any other thing did the question of

* *Revelations of Ireland*, by D. Owen Madden, p. 113.

the VETO retard, for years, the progress of the Catholic claims; the persecution of the government, its putting down committee after committee of the Catholics, only increased their strength, but the *Veto* made a breach in their own ranks and set them quarrelling among themselves, when they should have been offering a bold and united front to the common enemy. The *Veto* had another name, it was frequently called "the securities."—Securities required from the Catholics to ensure their loyalty.

These securities meant that when an Irish Catholic bishoprick became vacant, and when the proper ecclesiastical authorities had, by their votes, selected a successor to the deceased prelate, his name could not be submitted to the pope for his approval *until it was first* submitted to the King of England, who, if he disapproved of the person elected, was to have the right of saying VETO to that election, that is, I FORBID that name being sent to Rome. And this process could be repeated any number of times until the King, or, in other words, the government of the day, hit upon some person who would be their tool and creature.

The question of the *Veto* agitated the Catholic body for over twenty years. It began in 1799. In that year, probably with the object of disarming their opposition to the Union, the government offered the Catholics of Ireland a state endowment for their clergy, or, as they euphoniously called it, "an independent provision, under certain regulations not incompatible with their doctrines, discipline and just influence." The whole *Veto* was wrapped up in those honied words. The ten *prelates who* constituted the Board of M[illegible]

College happened to be sitting in Dublin, and the matter having been put before them as a very substantial concession, it was "thankfully" accepted by them. The Union was carried, and no further action seems to have been taken about this proposal for some years. Time brought reflection and its insidious nature was detected, for, in 1808 the bishops of Ireland issued a series of resolutions, the first of which ran thus:— "It is the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops." At subsequent meetings of their body they repeated and confirmed this view.

The Irish Catholic Peers and indeed the chief Catholics of position, were for conceding the *Veto* to the government, and the English Catholics seem to have been most anxious for it. At any rate, an influential party in Rome urged it forward there, maintaining that the Catholics of the British Isles could never hope for political freedom unless they made this concession.

The Pope, Pius the 7th, was a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon from 1809 until 1814; in the latter year, he being still a prisoner, Monsignore Quarantotti's famous Rescript to Dr. Poynter, Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland district in England, was issued; it contained the following passage:— "that the Catholics may with willingness and gratitude accept the law which was proposed for their emancipation last year, according to the form which has been submitted by your lordship." This form contained the concession, to the King of *England, of a Veto* on the appointment of Catholic [illegible]*ops.*

The agitation consequent upon the publication of this Rescript became so extreme among the Catholics, that the popular party looked upon a vetoist as a man to be avoided and denounced.

Meetings of the Deaneries were held in great numbers throughout the country, in order to express their disapprobation of the concessions made in Monsignore Quarantotti's Rescript. Dublin led the way. The priests of that diocese met in Bridge-street chapel on the 14th of May, and resolved, amongst other things: 1. That for several reasons they did not regard the Rescript as obligatory, but especially because it wanted the Pope's signature. 2. That it would be inexpedient at all times to grant a *Veto* on the appointment of Catholic bishops to a non-Catholic government. The resolutions were signed at the meeting by eighty-one of the leading clergy, and were ordered to be left at Mr. Coyne's in Parliament-street for further signatures. Much stronger words were made use of in resolutions passed at other meetings. The Cork meeting regarded the Rescript "with surprise and indignation." No bishop took part in those proceedings, as far as reported, but one. The Right Rev. Dr. Coppinger, bishop of Cloyne and Ross was chairman of the meeting held in his own diocese, and one of the strongest phrases applied to the Rescript was used there. That meeting called it "an unwarrantable assumption of authority, incompetent to bind them."

The leading politicians took their sides. O'Connell led the anti-vetoists; Sheil supported the *Veto*, and one of his most brilliant speeches was made in its favour, at a meeting of the Catholic *Board in 1813*, at which O'Connell was present.

He replied to Sheil. His opening sentence was: "My Lord, whilst the meeting is yet dazzled and warmed with the brilliant and glowing language, —'the thoughts that breathe and words that burn' —of my young friend, I rashly offer myself to your consideration." The resolution on which the speeches were made went to declare that, "either as Irishmen or as Catholics, we never will consent to allow to the crown, or the servants of the crown, any interference in the appointment of our bishops." O'Connell said he supported the resolution on both grounds. In addressing himself to the second motive for adopting the resolution, namely, the injury the Catholic Church would sustain if the minister of the day appointed her prelates, he said: "The minister is and will continue a Protestant, as far as a minister of state may be said to have any religion. If he be sincere as a Protestant, his choice of a bishop will be governed by his sincerity, and he will appoint as Catholic bishop the man least likely to serve the Catholic religion—most likely to injure and degrade that religion. But suppose him insincere as a Protestant, there will be no doubt of his attachment to power as a statesman. As a statesman, then, whom will he appoint as a bishop? The man who can purchase the situation—perhaps for money —certainly for service. And does any man imagine that the Catholic religion will prosper in Ireland, if our prelates, instead of being what they are at present, shall become the servile tools of her administration. They would then lose all respect for themselves; all respectability in the eyes of *others; they would* be degraded to the station of *excisemen and gaugers*; and the people, disgusted

and dissatisfied, would be likely to join the first enthusiastic preacher of some form of Methodism that might conciliate their ancient prejudices and court their still living passions."

O'Connell's reply to Sheil so influenced the meeting, that the motion (proposed by Dr. Dromgoole) for rejecting the *Veto* was carried with acclamation.

The *anti-vetoists* hoped, that on the Pope regaining his freedom, he would condemn Mgre. Quarantotti's Rescript. They were doomed to disappointment. It was, perhaps, too much to expect from the Sovereign Pontiff that he would ignore the act of his minister, even though done in his absence and during his captivity. He did not, but on the contrary sustained it, for in Cardinal Litta's letter to Dr. Poynter, in 1815, the Pope is described as "feeling no hesitation" in case the bill requiring securities should pass, "in allowing those to whom it appertained, to present to the King's ministers a list of candidates, in order that, if any of them should be obnoxious or suspected, the government might immediately point him out, so that he might be expunged," &c.*

The Catholic laity, vigorously led by O'Connell, became profoundly alarmed, and appointed a deputation to proceed to Rome, to present their views on the *Veto* to the Holy Father. Of those appointed not one actually went but the Rev. Richard Hayes, O.S.F. whom they had made the secretary to the deputation. In his anxiety for the success of his mission, he failed in tact, in

* *Charles Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics. Vol. iv. Appendix, p. 534.*

moderation, and in prudence, and was sent home in what may be called disgrace.*

The "bitter controversy," as O'Connell called it, still went on. It so divided the Catholics that anything like earnest, sustained agitation no longer existed amongst them, which compelled O'Connell to commence addressing the country in letters through the press. In one of those dashing epistles published in January, 1822, he still found it necessary to combat the *Veto* as determinedly as he had done ten years before; but in the next year the Catholic Association was founded by him, and the miserable *Veto* quarrel, which had destroyed united action in the Catholic body for well nigh a generation, went down—never to rise again—before this new, resistless agitation, as an old lugger might, that lay in the path of a powerful iron Screw. Thanks be to God! The independence of the Irish church was secured, and in six short years emancipation was wrung from a reluctant ministry, and a hostile King. †

* In a letter published by O'Connell in 1836, in reply to certain calumnies uttered against the Catholics in Exeter Hall, by the Rev. Mr. M'Ghee, he gives some reminiscences of the *Veto* controversy, in which he says, that Father Hayes was "ignominiously dismissed."

† In a sermon preached by him on Good Friday, 1816, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Coadjutor Archbishop of Dublin, alluded to the *Veto* as follows:—Having arrived at that stage of the Redeemer's Passion where he is represented as bound to a pillar, his Grace observes, "To this bound and suffering victim I would now implore the attention of those misguided Catholics who seem willing to impose new and disgraceful bonds, not indeed on his sacred person, but on *his mystical body, that is*, His CHURCH, which was ever *more dear to him* than even his life. Does not St. Paul

Going back a little on O'Connell's life, we find him, year after year, becoming a power at the bar, by his eloquence, his wit, his tact, his great legal skill, his fearless audacity. And these, beyond doubt are the qualities which were essential to a leader of the Irish people at that time, and, in fact, which are essential to him at all times. The legal profession was not very long open to Catholics, and here we find a Catholic barrister, who could not wear a silk gown, feared not only by the bar, but on the bench; for the judges did fear him, and so they ought, for he never spared them.

In a case tried at the Cork assizes a point arose

assure us that for this mystical body *he delivered himself up . . . that he might present to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle . . . . but that it should be holy and without blemish!* And could we suppose that it would be more painful to him to submit his sacred hands to the ignominious cords than to see this Church bound and fettered by restrictions which would render it less capable of fulfilling the object for which it was formed—the object for which he poured out his most precious life? I know that our mistaken brethren would not consent to yield up any point which *they* deemed essential, and that they look not beyond what *they* consider safe and honourable conciliation; but, unhappily it is now too well known that the conciliation which is expected is such as would imply the degradation and enslavement of the sacred ministry. And what virtuous Catholic would consent to purchase the chance of temporal advantages at the price of such a real spiritual calamity? Oh! if the stroke must come, let it come from those who have so long sought the extinction of our religion; but in the name of God let no Catholic press forward to share in the inglorious work. Let no one amongst us be found to say of his Church, as the treacherous disciple said of its divine founder: *What will you give me, and I will deliver him [it] unto you.*"—*Brennan's Ecclesiastical History*: quoted in his Life of Archbp. *Murray, by* the Very Rev. Dr. Meagher, V.G.

touching the legality of certain evidence, which O'Connell argued was clearly admissible. He sustained his own view very fully, reasoning with the closeness and force, and quoting precedents with that facility for which he was distinguished. But it was all in vain. The court ruled against him, and at the close of the day the proceedings were not completed. On the following morning, when the case was about to be resumed, the judge addressed himself to O'Connell, and alluding to his own decision of the previous day, he told him that he had reconsidered the point, and was then of opinion the evidence should not have been rejected. He had, doubtless, during the previous evening, informed himself on the point in question, by a reference to written authorities, or had been set right after consultation with his "learned brother." He therefore invited O'Connell to reproduce the evidence tendered and refused the day before. Another might have thanked him obsequiously for his condescension; but O'Connell's impatience broke out. "Good God, my Lord," said he, "if your lordship had known as much law yesterday morning as you do this, what an idle sacrifice of time and trouble would you not have saved me, and an injury and injustice to my client." "Crier," added he, in a tone of indignation, "call up the witness." The reprimand was felt acutely; but his lordship remained absolutely silent.*

O'Connell's greatest bar speech, at this or, perhaps at any period of his career, was in the well known case of the King *v.* John Magee, proprietor of *the Dublin Evening Post*, for an alleged libel upon the *Duke of Richmond*, then Lord Lieutenant of Ire-

* *See Fagan's Life of O'Connell*, vol i. p. 68.

land. The trial had been postoned from the 31st May, on the application of the defendant's counsel, who alleged the absence of material witnesses. It came before the court again, on Wednesday, July the 8th, 1813, and another postponement to the ensuing Michaelmas term was applied for, and for the same reasons—the absence of four material witnesses, who were named by Mr. Finlay, one of the counsel for the defendant,* they were:—Sir Charles Saxton, late Under Secretary at the Castle, the Right Hon. William Wellesly Pole, late Secretary for Ireland; Robert Peel (at that time spelt *Peele*), then Secretary for Ireland; and the Right. Hon. William Fitzgerald (afterwards Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci) Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.

The Attorney General (Mr. Saurin) strongly resisted the application. His opening sentence was: "In truth, my Lords, this is an idle and silly application. One cannot, my lords, take up one of these papers without being shocked by the odious and abominable trash with which they assail every virtuous and honourable character in the land, and traduce and villify the government of the country, and disparage the wisest administration and the most humane governors."

Again, he said, "My lords, you will be shocked to hear that the defendant is indicted and charged, by this indictment, with charging his Grace of Richmond with being a murderer."

Mr. O'Connell.—"I must, my lords, interrupt

* The Counsel in the case were, for the Crown, the Attorney-General (Saurin), the Solicitor-General (C. Kendal Bushe), Sergeants Moore, Ball, and M'Mahon; for the defendant, Messrs O'Connell, Wallace, Hamilton, Finlay and Philips.

Mr. Attorney-General, intending him no disrespect. He now purports to state matter which is contained in the indictment, but he has not given any notice of using it upon this motion. So that we are not prepared to correct by the attested copy, any misstatements that he may choose to make of its contents."

The Chief Justice (Downes), allowed the Attorney-General to proceed.

The latter urged that it was idle to expect Sir Charles Saxton and Mr. Wellesly Pole to return to Ireland, they having no private affairs or fixed residence here, and being out of office; and he filed an affidavit, made by one James Murphy, to the effect that Mr. Wellesly Pole and Sir Charles Saxton lived in Great Britain altogether, and could not be expected to come to Ireland; but that it was the belief of the said James Murphy that Messrs. Peele and Fitzgerald would be in Dublin on the 12th of July. With regard to this affidavit, Mr. Finlay, one of defendant's counsel, said: "An affidavit has been put in on behalf of the prosecution, and a very extraordinary affidavit it is, perhaps the most extraordinary affidavit that ever was submitted to a court of justice. It argues no small degree of simplicity in the crown solicitor to have *thrown such* an affidavit into this court. It is sworn by one James Murphy, but who this James Murphy is, or what he is, or where he is, or what he has to do with the court or this cause—on all these subjects of reasonable curiosity on our part, the said James Murphy leaves no room for speculation. . . . This person announces himself to the court as 'James *Murphy of the city* of Dublin,' but further, as to *himself, deponent saith* not."

Mr. O'Connell said, that as leading counsel for Mr. Magee, it was his duty to reply to the Attorney-General.

"I am indeed," said he, "at a loss to discover what it is I am to reply to! I have heard from him abundance of confident and unfounded assertion, but a total want of anything resembling reason or argument; with his style it is beneath me to quarrel, but with the manner in which he has treated my client and the court, I have just reason to be dissatisfied.

"Against every principle of law and reason he pronounces my client guilty before trial; he anticipates conviction and exults in the prospect of inflicting punishment, with as much gratification as if he were, at the moment, in the actual enjoyment of so doing. And he has dictated to the court, that which involves a direct contradiction of its former decisions.

"I did interrupt him, my lords, and I was right to interrupt—first, because he made use of a document, namely, the indictment, of which in point of form, he could make no use on this motion, because of not having given any notice of using it. Secondly, because he wilfully misstated and misrepresented that indictment.

"He has told me that my assertion is absurd. It is not a polite mode of reply, but he does say that my assertion is absurd. I wish to be lenient to him, but I am compelled to prove that his assertions are disgraceful to him, because directly contrary to the fact?

"He has told you that Mr. Magee is indicted as the printer of a newspaper. My Lords, the fact is *otherwise*. Mr. Magee is *not* indicted as the printer

of a newspaper. He has told you that Mr. Magee is indicted as the proprietor of a newspaper. My Lords, the fact is otherwise. Mr. Magee is not indicted as the proprietor of any newspaper. And the Attorney-General has also told you that Mr. Magee is indicted for charging the Duke of Richmond with being a murderer. The truth is not so—the truth is otherwise, Mr. Magee is *not* indicted for charging the Duke of Richmond with being a murderer.*

"Will it then be said, that it is absurd to endeavour by interruption to prevent the court from being imposed upon, by so glaring and disgraceful a misrepresentation of the facts? If so, this is an absurdity which I am proud of committing.

"After this preface, extorted from me by the arrogant manner of the Attorney-General, I beg to call the attention of the court to the motion."

O'Connell then went into the case for postponement, and argued it with a force of law and logic that did not leave the crown a leg to stand upon. The reasons, he said for postponement were the same as on the former occasion—the principal one being the absence of material witnesses—for these reasons a postponement was granted before—why not grant it now? He thus dealt with the famous

* The alleged libel was headed "The Duke of Richmond." It was a historic review. The passage which caused the attorney-general to assert that it charged the Duke of Richmond with being a murderer, although not justifying that assertion, was yet very strong. It stated that he was not superior to the worst of his predecessors, whom Mr. Magee thus described: "The profligate and unprincipled Westmoreland," the "cold-hearted and cruel *Camden," the "artful* and treacherous Cornwallis." And *he added of them*:—"They insulted, they oppressed, they *murdered,* and they deceived."

affidavit referred to above. "But, it is said the case is different now—that there is now an affidavit made on the part of the crown which will warrant the court in departing from its former rule. This I must altogether deny; and I am prepared to show you, first, that you cannot read the affidavit at all; secondly, that even if it were read, it would furnish no grounds for resisting our motion. This affidavit cannot be read, because the person who makes it shows no connection with the court or the parties. He furnishes no description of himself—no reason to account why he should throw an affidavit on your files; he calls himself James Murphy of the city of Dublin; but which of the thousands of Jemmy Murphys who people Dublin, you have no means to ascertain; whether he belongs to Channel-row or Kildare-street, you cannot conjecture; if he be gentleman, esquire, knight, or baronet, attorney, doctor, grocer, or merchant—all this is concealed from the court: he states himself to be 'James Murphy,' of the city of Dublin, and no more. . . . . Oh! he is safe this James Murphy is! How can we detect—how can we punish him for perjury? Where shall we look for him? How shall we identify him? If the court receives this affidavit it holds out an indemnity to perjury—a protection to discovery, to fabrication, and forgery. The prosecutors have not, however, the merit of invention. The original example of setting at defiance was given them by the contrivers of a public document, presented to an honorable assembly, subscribed in many a forged and fictitious name, rendering detection difficult by its uncertainty: to that document were affixed four-

and-twenty Armstrongs, all 'of the city of Dublin.'"*

O'Connell then proved, in the most convincing manner, that the affidavit could not be read. At the close of his argument the Solicitor-General agreed to postpone the trial to the 20th of July, and O'Connell expressed himself satisfied. On that day, the Attorney-General, moved the Court of King's Bench, "that the case of the King against Magee, in consequence of the continued absence of Messrs. Fitzgerald, Pole, Peele, and Sir Charles Saxton, witnesses for the defendant, should stand over to Monday, the 26th," which was accordingly granted.

On the 26th of July another battle was fought for postponement, on account of the continued absence of two of the four witnesses named above; and also with regard to the jury panel. This occupied the day, and on the next, the 27th, the trial was proceeded with.

O'Connell's great speech on the trial of Magee is regarded by nearly all his biographers and, indeed, is generally regarded as a splendid political oration, and a trenchant, undaunted phillipic against the government. It was all that, but it was more; it was a thoroughly able legal argument; and whoever will take the trouble of examining it *fully*, will be convinced that the great advocate did not overlook any point of law which could be urged in favour of his client. No doubt it was the political allusions of the orator, and the unequalled and well-earned castigation that he gave the Attorney-General, which

* *Channel-row* was a miserable asylum for beggars at the *time.*

caused the speech to be hailed with delight throughout the country, and occasioned those numerous meetings that assembled and passed resolutions of thanks to O'Connell.

He was great from the first sentence of his speech to the last. Thus he began :—

"I consented to the adjournment yesterday, gentlemen of the jury, from that impulse of nature which compels us to postpone pain; it is, indeed, painful to me to address you; it is a cheerless, a hopeless task to address you—a task which would require all the animation and interest to be derived from the working of a mind fully fraught with the resentment and disgust created in mine yesterday by that farrago of helpless absurdity with which Mr. Attorney-General regaled you.

"But I am now not sorry for the delay. Whatever I may have lost in vivacity, I trust I shall compensate for in discretion. That which yesterday excited my anger, now appears to me to be an object of pity; and that which then roused my indignation, now only moves to *contempt*. I can now address you with feelings softened, and, I trust subdued; and I do, from my soul, declare, that I now cherish no other sensations than those which enable me to bestow on the Attorney-General and on his discourse, pure and unmixed compassion.

"It was a discourse in which you could not discover either order, or method, or eloquence; it contained very little logic, and no poetry at all; violent and virulent, it was a confused and disjointed tissue of bigotry, amalgamated with congenial vulgarity. He accused my client of using Billingsgate, and he accused him of it in language suited exclusively for that meridian. He descended

even to the calling of names: he called this young gentleman a 'malefactor,' a 'Jacobin,' and a 'ruffian,' gentlemen of the jury; he called him 'abominable,' and 'seditious,' and 'revolutionary,' and 'infamous;' and a 'ruffian,' again, gentlemen of the jury; he called him a 'brothel keeper,' a 'pander,' a 'kind of bawd in breeches,' and a 'ruffian,' a third time, gentlemen of the jury.

"I cannot repress my astonishment, how Mr. Attorney-General could have preserved this dialect in its native purity; he has been now for nearly thirty years in the class of polished society; he has for some years mixed amongst the highest orders in the state; he has had the honor to belong, for thirty years, to the first profession in the world —to the only profession, with the single exception, perhaps, of the military, to which a high minded gentleman could condescend to belong—the Irish bar. To that bar, at which he has seen and heard a Burgh and a Duquery; at which he must have listened to a Burton, a Ponsonby, and a Curran; to a bar which still contains a Plunket, a Ball, and, despite of politics, I will add, a Bushe. With this galaxy of glory flinging their light around him, how can he alone have remained in darkness? How has it happened, that the twilight murkiness of his soul has not been illumed with a single ray shot from their lustre? Devoid of taste and of genius, how can he have had memory enough to preserve this original vulgarity? He is, indeed, an object of compassion, and, from my inmost soul I bestow on him my forgiveness and my bounteous pity."

It is quite likely that O'Connell was anxious to *make a political* speech on Magee's trial, but in

doing so, he was certainly justified by the line of attack which the Attorney-General had adopted—witness the following passage from his speech:—"We did advise the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that the Catholic Committee was an unlawful assembly, and was acting in violation of the law .... and with respect to its folly, there is none who has ever heard him (the Attorney-General) speak other sentiments with regard to it than those of *pity* and *contempt*. It has submitted to conviction and has been put down. If a body nominally different has sprung from its ashes, and is treading nearly in its footsteps, I will not hesitate to say in my proper place, and to pledge myself officially before you, that *whenever that assembly shall be doing less good by its folly and vanity, by its extravagances and excesses; at the moment it becomes less ridiculous than mischievous and odious, I will offer my advice to apply the law, and put it down also.*" And again at the close of his speech, he said:—"Mr. Magee being a young, a very young man, might, by this prosecution have his eyes opened, that he might see the *dangerous and wicked faction* into whose hands he has committed himself, who are endangering his liberty and *bringing infamy on his character.*"

O'Connell replied as follows to the above passage:—

"We will never volunteer to mingle our politics, whatever they may be, with our forensic duties. I made this the rigid rule of my professional conduct; and if I shall appear to depart from this rule now, I bid you recollect that I am compelled to follow the Attorney-General into ground which, if he had been wise, he would have avoided.

"Yes; I am compelled to follow him into the discussion of his conduct towards the Catholics. He has poured out the full vial of his own praise on that conduct—praise in which, I can safely assure him, he has not a single unpaid rival. It is a topic upon which no unbribed man, except himself, dwells. I admit the disinterestedness with which he praises himself, and I do not envy him his delight, but he ought to know, if he hears or sees a word of that kind from any other man, that that man receives or expects compensation for his task, and really deserves money for his labour and invention.

"My Lords, upon the Catholic subject, I commence with one assertion of the Attorney-General, which I trust I misunderstood. He talked, as I collected him, of the Catholics having imbibed principles of a seditious, treasonable, and revolutionary nature! He seemed to me, most distinctly, to charge us with treason! There is no relying on his words, for his meaning—I know there is not. On a former occasion, I took down a repetition of this charge full seventeen times on my brief, and yet, afterwards, it turned out that he never intended to make any such charge; that he forgot he had ever used those words, and he disclaimed the idea they naturally convey. It is clear, therefore, that upon this subject he knows not what he says; and that these phrases are the mere flowers of his rhetoric, but quite innocent of any meaning!

"Upon this account I pass him by—I go beyond him, and I content myself with proclaiming those charges, whosoever may make them, to be false and base calumnies! It is impossible to refute such *charges in the* language of dignity and temper.

But if any man dares to charge the Catholic body, or the Catholic Board, or any individuals of that Board with sedition or treason, I do here, I shall always in this court, in the city, in the field, brand him as an infamous and profligate *liar*.

"Pardon the phrase, but there is no other suitable to the occasion. But he is a profligate liar who so asserts, because he must know that the whole tenor of our conduct confutes the assertion. What is it we seek?

Chief Justice.—"What, Mr. O'Connell, can this have to do with the question which the jury has to try?

Mr. O'Connell.—"*You heard the Attorney-General traduce and calumniate us. You heard him with patience and with temper. Listen now to our vindication.*

"I ask, What is it we seek? What is it we incessantly and, if you please, clamorously petition for? Why, to be allowed to partake of the advantages of the constitution. We look to the participation in the constitution as our greatest political blessing. If we desired to destroy it, would we seek to share it? If we wished to overturn it, would we exert ourselves, through calumny, and in peril, to obtain a portion of its blessings? Strange, inconsistent voice of calumny! You charge us with intemperance in our exertions for a participation in the constitution, and you charge us at the same time, almost in the same sentence, with a design to overturn that constitution. The dupes of your hypocrisy may believe you, but, base calumniators, you do not—you cannot believe yourselves!

"The Attorney-General.—'*This* wisest and best of

men,' as his colleague, the Solicitor-General, called him in his presence—the Attorney-General next boasted of his triumph over Pope and Popery. 'I put down the Catholic Committee; I will put down, at my good time, the Catholic Board.' This boast is partly historical, partly prophetical. He was wrong in his history—he is quite mistaken in his prophecy. He did not put down the Catholic Committee. We gave up that name the moment that it was confessedly avowed that this sapient Attorney-General's polemica-legal controversy dwindled into a mere dispute about words. He told us that in the English language 'pretence' means 'purpose.' Had it been French and not English we might have been inclined to respect his judgment, but in point of English we venture to differ with him. We told him 'purpose,' good Mr. Attorney-General, is just the reverse of 'pretence.' The quarrel grew warm and animated. We appealed to common sense, to the grammar, and to the dictionary. Common sense, grammar, and the dictionary decided in our favour. He brought his appeal to this court. Your lordship and your brethren unanimously decided that in point of law—mark! mark, gentlemen of the jury, the sublime wisdom of the law—the court decided that, in point of law, '*pretence*' does mean '*purpose*.'*

* The use of the two words in italics will be better understood by a reference to the Convention Act. That act was prepared and brought into parliament by Lord Clare in 1793. In the preamble it is called "An act to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies UNDER PRETENCE of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his Majesty or the Parliament."

"Next, he glorifies himself in his prospect of putting down the Catholic Board. For the present, he, indeed, tells you, that as much as he hates the papists, it is unnecessary for him to crush our Board, because we injure our own cause so much. He says that we are very criminal, but we are so foolish that our folly serves as a compensation for our wickedness. We are very wicked and very mischievous, but then we are such foolish little criminals, that we deserve his indulgence. Thus he tolerates offences, because of their being committed sillily; and, indeed, we give him so much pleasure and gratification by the injury we

Such delegation was lawful before. Dr. Sheridan was tried under this act. He was chairman of a Catholic meeting held in Dublin, in Liffey-street Chapel, on the 31st of July, 1811. The prosecution was founded on resolutions passed at a Catholic meeting held in Fishamble-street on the 9th of the same month, under which the meeting in Liffey-street was presumed to act. The third and fourth resolutions did appear to trench on the Convention Act. A committee was appointed to prepare petitions to parliament, which was to consist, amongst others, of ten persons chosen from each county, and five persons from each of the parishes of Dublin. The counsel for Dr. Sheridan and the other delegates maintained that they did not meet *under pretence* of petitioning but *for the purpose* of petitioning, and that the word *pretence* in the statute meant *false pretence*. The jury, after an hour and a-half, brought in a verdict of NOT GUILTY, which was received with immense applause by a very crowded court.

The eccentric Dr. Brennan, known as the "wrestling doctor," and still more famous as the "turpentine doctor," wrote some witty and severe things of his medical brethren. Of Dr. Sheridan he said:—

"Name the grave you wish to be buried in,
Before you send for Dr. Sheridan."

do our own cause, that he is spared the superfluous labour of impeding our petition by his prosecutions, fines, or imprisonments.

"He expresses the very idea of the Roman Domitian, of whom some of you possibly may have heard. He amused his days in torturing men—his evenings he relaxed in the humble cruelty of impaling flies. A courtier caught a fly for his imperial amusement. 'Fool,' said the emperor, 'fool, to give thyself the trouble of torturing an animal that was about to burn itself to death in the candle!' Such is the spirit of the Attorney-General's commentary on our Board. Oh, rare Attorney-General!—oh, best and wisest of men!!!

"But, to be serious. Let me pledge myself to you that he imposes on you when he threatens to crush the Catholic Board. Illegal violence may do it—force may effectuate it; but your hopes and his will be defeated, if he attempts it by any course of law. I am, if not a lawyer, at least a barrister. On this subject I ought to know something, and I do not hesitate to contradict the Attorney-General on this point, and to proclaim to you and to the country that the Catholic Board is perfectly a legal assembly—that it not only does not violate the law, but that it is entitled to the protection of the law, and, in the very proudest tone of firmness, I hurl *defiance* at the Attorney-General!

"I defy him to allege a law or a statute, or even a proclamation, that is violated by the Catholic Board. No, gentlemen, no; his religious prejudices—if the absense of every charity can be called anything religious—his religious prejudices *really obscure his* reason, his bigoted intolerance

has totally darkened his understanding, and he mistakes the plainest facts, and misquotes the clearest law, in the ardour and vehemence of his rancour. I disdain his moderation—I scorn his forbearance. I tell him he knows not the law if he thinks as he says; and if he thinks so, I tell him to his beard that he is not *honest* in not having sooner prosecuted us, and I challenge him to that prosecution.

"It is strange—it is melancholy to reflect on the miserable and mistaken pride that must inflate him, to talk as he does of the Catholic Board. The Catholic Board is composed of men—I include not myself—of course I always except myself—every way his superiors, in birth, in fortune, in talents, in rank. What! is he to talk of the Catholic Board lightly? At their head is the Earl of Fingal, a nobleman whose exalted rank stoops beneath the superior station of his virtues—whom even the venal minions of power must respect. We are engaged, patiently and perseveringly engaged, in a struggle through the open channels of the Constitution for our liberties. The son of the ancient earl whom I have mentioned cannot, in his native land, attain any honourable distinction of the State, and yet Mr. Attorney-General knows that they are open to every son of every bigoted and intemperate stranger that may settle amongst us.

"But this system cannot last. He may insult, he may calumniate, he may prosecute; but the Catholic cause is on its *majestic march;* its progress is rapid and obvious; it is cheered in its advance, and aided by all that is dignified and dispassionate—by everything that is patriotic—by all the honour, all the integrity of the empire,

and its success is just as certain as the return of to-morrow's sun, and the close of to-morrow's eve."

O'Connell next addressed his observations to the jury, and for a very considerable time. He attacked the principle laid down by the Solicitor-General (C. Kendal Bushe) on Dr. Sheridan's trial. "The case is with you," he said, "it belongs to you exclusively to decide it. His lordship may advise, but he cannot control your decision. . . . . The Solicitor-General cannot now venture to promulgate the slavish doctrine which he addressed to Dr. Sheridan's jury, when he told them, 'not to *presume* to differ from the court in matter of law.* The law and the fact are here the same, namely, the guilty or innocent design of the publication.

"Indeed, in any criminal case, the doctrine of the Solicitor-General is intolerable. I enter my solemn protest against it. The verdict which is required from a jury in any criminal case has nothing special in it. It is not the finding of the fact in the affirmative or negative—it is not, as in Scotland, that the charge is proved or not proved. No; the jury is to say whether the prisoner be guilty or not; and could a juror find a true verdict who declared a man guilty, upon evidence, of some act,

* His words, as reported, were:—"He (the Solicitor-General) was of opinion that the counsel for the Traversers had really supposed the judges and the jury to have changed places; for the judges were addressed as to the facts, and the jury were called upon to give their decision upon the law. *The jury have, in truth, nothing to do with the law*, and the judges should not have the smallest concern whatever in the verdict on the facts of the indictment."—State *of the Catholic* Cause, p. 318.

perhaps praiseworthy, but clearly void of evil design or bad consequences?

"I do, therefore, deny the doctrine of the learned gentleman; it is not constitutional, and it would be frightful if it were. *No judge can dictate to a jury*—no jury ought to allow itself to be dictated to.

"If the Attorney-General's doctrine were established, see what oppressive consequences might result. At some future period, some man may attain the first place on the bench, by the reputation which is so easily acquired by a certain degree of churchwardening piety, added to a great gravity, and maidenly decorum of manners. Such a man *may* reach the bench—for I am putting a mere imaginary case. HE may be a man without PASSIONS, and THEREFORE without VICES; he may, my Lord, be a man superfluously RICH, and therefore, not to be BRIBED with MONEY, but rendered PARTIAL by his BIGOTRY, and CORRUPTED by his PREJUDICES; such a man, INFLATED by FLATTERY, and BLOATED in his dignity, may hereafter use that character for SANCTITY which has served to promote him, as a sword, to hew down the struggling liberties of his country; such a judge may interfere before trial! and at the trial be a PARTISAN! Gentlemen, *should* an honest—*could* an honest—jury (if an honest jury were again to be found) listen with safety to the dictates of such a judge?"*

In dealing with that portion of the libel quoted in the note at page 46, he said:—"'The profligate, unprincipled Westmoreland.' I throw down the paper and address myself in particular to some of you [the jury]. There are, I see, amongst you

* This paragraph was all meant for Chief Justice Downes, whom he was addressing.

some of our Bible distributors, and of our 'suppressors of vice.' Distributors of Bibles, suppressors of vice—what call you profligacy?" He then gives examples to show what is meant by profligacy, in doing which he pointedly describes the well-known character of the Earl of Westmorland. "The women of Ireland," he continues, "have always been beauteous to a proverb; they were, without an exception, chaste beyond the terseness of a proverb to express; they are as chaste as in former days, but the depraved example of a depraved court has furnished some exceptions, and the action for criminal conversation, before the time of Westmorland unknown, has since become more familiar to our courts of justice. Call you the sad example which produced those exceptions—call you *that* profligacy, suppressors of vice and Bible distributors?

"I pass on from the sanctified portion of the jury, which I have latterly addressed, and I call the attention of you all to the next member of the sentence—

"'The cold-hearted and cruel Camden.'

"Here I have your prejudices all armed against me. In the administration of Camden, your faction was cherished and triumphant. Will you prevent him to be called cold and cruel? Alas! today, why have I not men to address who would listen to me for the sake of impartial justice! But even with you the case is too powerful to allow me to despair.

"Well, *I do* say, the cold and cruel Camden. Why, on *one circuit* during his administration, there were ONE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS TRIED BEFORE ONE JUDGE; OF THESE NINETY-EIGHT WERE *CAPITALLY* CONVICTED, AND NINETY-SEVEN

HANGED! I understand *one* escaped; but he was a *soldier* who murdered a *peasant* or something of that TRIVIAL nature—NINETY-SEVEN victims in one circuit!!!"

On the third point of the sentence, namely, "the artful and treacherous Cornwallis;" O'Connell went into the bribery and treachery by which the union was carried, of which measure he called Cornwallis the "artificer and superintendent." The Attorney-General had called Mr. Magee a Jacobin. To this O'Connell's reply was:—"the charge of being a Jacobin was at that time [the time of the Union] made against the present Attorney-General—him, plain William Saurin—in the very terms, and with just as much truth as he now applies it to my client. His reply shall serve for that of Mr. Magee. I take it from the anti-Union of the 22nd March, 1800. 'To the charge of Jacobin, Mr. Saurin said he knew not what it meant, as applied to him, except it was an opposition to the will of the British minister.' So says Mr. Magee."

The peroration to this unrivalled forensic effort was:—"Is there amongst you any one friend to freedom? Is there amongst you one man who esteems equal and impartial justice, who values the people's rights as the foundation of private happiness, and who considers life as no boon without liberty? Is there amongst you one friend to the constitution—one man who hates oppression? If there be, Mr. Magee appeals to his kindred mind, and confidently expects an acquittal.

"There are amongst you men of great religious zeal—of much public piety. Are you sincere? Do you believe what you profess? With all this

zeal, with all this piety, *is* there any conscience amongst you? *Is* there any terror of violating your oaths? Be ye hypocrites, or does genuine religion inspire you? If you be sincere—if you have conscience—if your oaths can control your interests, then, Mr. Magee confidently expects an acquittal.

"If amongst you there be cherished one ray of pure religion—if amongst you there glow a single spark of liberty—if I have alarmed religion, or roused the spirit of freedom in one breast amongst you, Mr. Magee is safe, and his country is served; but if there be none—if you be slaves and hypocrites, he will await your verdict, and despise it."

The jury brought in a verdict of GUILTY; and the judgment of the court was, that Mr. Magee was to pay a fine of £500 and suffer two years' imprisonment. A motion was made to set this verdict aside, but, meantime, Mr. Magee was lodged in Kilmainham jail.

The trial was published in a pamphlet at the office of the *Evening Post*. There was a long and able introduction to it, written by Mr. Denys Scully, the author of the well-known work on the Penal Laws, from which the following is an extract:—"We are almost afraid to trust our feelings in describing the masterly, silencing, *crushing* speech of this splendid advocate [O'Connell]. . . . In an evil hour Mr. Saurin threw down the gauntlet; it was taken up by Mr. O'Connell and dashed contemptuously in his teeth. Flattering himself that his character, as a member of the Irish administration, gave him *carte blanche to abuse all his* adversaries, and to pour a torrent

of violent vituperation upon the Catholics of Ireland, upon the first press in Ireland, and upon the Catholic Board, he fancied that no one had the nerve—the presumption, forsooth—to oppose and to repel his Billingsgate invective. Mistaken and infatuated creature! How did you feel when Mr. O'Connell branded you as a libeller before the court; a calumniator, in the face of your country; and to your beard, a liar? We protest we pitied the writhings of the Attorney-General's frame, the contortions of his countenance, the green, lived hue that alternated the faint flushing of his quivering cheek while lying upon the procrustean bed of Mr. O'Connell's eloquence. The sweat trickled down his forehead, his lips were as white as ashes, his jaws elongated, and his mouth unconsciously open, while the lava of the indignant orator poured around him with an unsparing tide, and seemed absolutely to dry up and burn the source of respiration. Indeed, when the reader considers the auditory that surrounded the Attorney-General; when he reflects that the Commander of the Forces sat under the Bench; and that the Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Kinnaird, &c. &c. were present;—when he takes into his view the crowded state of the court, and that even the sons of the Attorney-General witnessed the torture of their father, he will be at no loss to conceive the condition to which that unfortunate man was reduced." *

The effect of the speech on the country was electric; enthusiastic meetings were held and reso-

* Introduction to the Report of the Trial,—The King *v.* Magee, p. xxiv. printed and published in Trinity street, *at the office of* John Magee himself, 1813.

lutions of thanks passed to Counsellor O'Connell, in which "unwearied zeal," "precious services," "splendid talents," "unquestionable integrity" "bold and splendid oration," and other such flattering compliments were heaped upon him in profusion. The Kilkenny resolution went into some particulars, and contained severe words towards the government and the Attorney-General. It was published in the *Evening Post*, and was made the groundwork of a new prosecution against that journal. It was as follows:—

"At a meeting of the gentry, clergy, &c. &c. and inhabitants of the county of Kilkenny, August 12th, 1813—Captain Bryan in the chair—Resolved unanimously—'That Daniel O'Connell Esq. is eminently entitled to our gratitude and applause, for his many precious services rendered to the Catholic cause, and to his country; his faithful performance of his duty on the Catholic Board; his unshaken constancy in watching over the interests of Ireland; his early opposition to the humiliating bill lately proposed in parliament; his intrepid development of the crimes and treasons of orangism; and finally, for the dignified, eloquent and unparalled oration which he pronounced upon the 27th of July last, in defence of the virtuous and patriotic John Magee, the proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post.*

"We hold that oration to be of inestimable value; and singularly calculated to control the partialities of the bench, to shame and stigmatize the bigotry of a selected jury, and to rebuke into native insignificance, the vain and vulgar law officer who shall hereafter, virulently and venally invade a free press, or vilify an injured nation."

On Wednesday, the 24th of November, John

Magee was duly brought up again, for the purpose of taking his trial for the alleged libel on the Duke of Richmond, contained in the Kilkenny resolutions of the 4th of August: and also "to hear the judgment of the court on the motion made to set aside the verdict in his former prosecution."

The judgment of the court was that the verdict should stand, but two days were given to file affidavits in mitigation of punishment.

O'Connell then went into a legal argument to prove the traverser had a right to *traverse in prox.* (*i. e.* to postpone his trial) in the matter of the indictment for publishing the Kilkenny resolutions. In spite of the most virulent opposition from the Attorney-General, O'Connell succeeded with the bench, and the trial was postponed to the 31st of January, 1814.

The two days allowed in the other case, having expired, on the 27th of November, 1813, the Attorney-Genenal, made a motion in aggravation of the sentence on Mr. Magee, *for publishing a report of the trial of* THE KING at the prosecution of HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RICHMOND against John Magee, proprietor of the "*Dublin Evening Post.*" He retorted as far as he was able upon O'Connell, for the laceration he had given him at the former trial, and he also drew the Chief Justice's attention to O'Connell's almost undisguised attack upon himself, on the same occasion. The following was O'Connell's reply:—

"I am sure, my Lords, that every gentleman present will sympathise in the emotions I now experience. I am sure no gentleman can avoid feeling the deepest interest in a situation in which it is extremely difficult to check the strongest *resentment, but* quite impossible to give that re-

sentment utterance in the severity of language suited to its cause and provocation. Yet, even here, do I yield in nothing to the Attorney-General. I deny, in the strongest terms, his unfounded and absurd claim to superiority. I am his equal, at least, in birth—his equal in fortune—his equal, certainly, in education; and as to talent, I should not add that, but there is little vanity in claiming equality. And thus meeting him on the firm footing of undoubted equality, I do rejoice my Lords, —I do most sincerely rejoice —that the Attorney-General has prudently treasured up his resentment since July last, and ventured to address me in this court, in the unhandsome language he has used, because my profound respect for this temple of the law, enables me here to overcome the infirmity of my nature, and to listen with patience to an attack which, had it been made elsewhere, would have met merited CHASTISEMENT.

Justice Daly—"Eh; what is that you say?"

Justice Osborne, with much apparent emotion —"I at once declare I will not sit here to listen to such a speech as I have seen reported. Take care of what you say, sir."

Mr. O'Connell.—"My lord, what I say is, that I am delighted at the prudence of the Attorney-General, in having made that foul assault upon me here, and not elsewhere, because my profound respect for the bench overcomes now those feelings which, elsewhere, would lead me to do what I should regret—to break the peace in chastising him.

Justice Daly.—"*Chastising* the Attorney-General! If a criminal information were applied for on that word, we should be bound to grant it."

Mr. O'Connell.—"I meant, my lords, that *elsewhere, thus assailed*, I should be carried away by

my feelings to do that which I should regret—to go beyond the law—to inflict corporal punishment for that offence, which I am ready, out of consideration for the court, to pardon."

Justice Osborne.—"I will take the opinion of the court whether you shall not be committed."

Chief Justice.—"If you pursue that line of language, we must call upon some other of the counsel at the same side to proceed."

Justice Day.—"Now, Mr. O'Connell, do not you perceive that, while you talk of suppressing your feelings, you are actually indulging them? The Attorney-General could not mean you offence in the line of argument he pursued to enhance the punishment, in every way, of your client. It is unnecessary for you to throw off, or repel aspersions that are not made on you."

Mr. O'Connell.—"My lord, I thank YOU. I sincerely thank you. It relieves my mind from a load of imputation, when I hear such high authority as that of your lordship, kindly declaring that it did not apply to me. And yet, my lord, what did the Attorney-General mean, when he called a question a senseless and shameless question? What did he mean when he—he, my lord, talked of low and vulgar mind? What did he mean when he imputed to the advocate participation in the crime of the client? This he distinctly charged me with. All I require from the court is, the same liberty to reply with which the Attorney-General has been indulged in attack. All I ask is, to be suffered to answer, and repel the calumnies with which I have been assailed.

Justice Daly.—"You shall have the same liberty that he had; but the court did not under-

stand him to have made any personal attack upon you."

Justice Osborne.—"We did not understand that the Attorney-General meant you, when he talked of a participator in the crime of your client.'

Attorney-General.—"I did not, my lords. I certainly did not mean the gentleman. To state that I did, would be to misrepresent my meaning, which had nothing to do with him."

Mr. O'Connell.—"Well, my lords, be it so. I rejoice, however, that this charge is thus publicly disavowed, and disavowed in the presence of those who heard his words originally, and who have heard me repel any attack made upon me. I rejoice to find that your lordships have interposed your opinion, that no personal attack has been made upon me, and thus have rendered unnecessary any further comment, on what had flowed from the Attorney-General."

After this encounter, Mr. O'Connell proceeded with his speech in favour of his client, at the close of which Mr. Magee repudiated him as his advocate. It was done through Mr. Wallace, who was one of his counsel. That gentleman asked to be heard, before the Solicitor-General would reply. This being granted, he contended that Mr. Magee was not to be held responsible for his counsel's speech, and even if he were his adoption of it should be treated as a separate offence. "I am solicitous," said Mr. Wallace, "to avoid in any degree implicating the case of my client, Mr. John Magee, with the merit or demerit of his counsel's speech. If my learned colleague have fallen into any error or impropriety, in the speech which he *delivered, he* has the manliness and candour, I am

confident, to avow it, and to take upon himself the responsibility." Mr. O'Connell said he did not admit that he had been guilty of any impropriety. Mr. Wallace, in the course of his speech, used the expressions, "the sins of counsel" and "abuse of the forensic robe," and called on the bench to punish Mr. O'Connell for the speech, and not Mr. Magee.

The Solicitor-General refused to draw the distinction between counsel and client.

Whatever motive Mr. Magee had in repudiating O'Connell's advocacy of his cause, it was weak and ungenerous of him to have done so. If it were with the hope of mitigating the severity of the sentence, he failed, for that sentence was eventually pronounced in these words :—

"The sentence of the court is—That you, John Magee, do pay a fine of £500 to his Majesty; that you be imprisoned for the space of two years in Newgate, to be computed from the day of conviction; and that you do find security for your good behaviour for seven years, yourself in the sum of £1,000, and two sureties in the sum of £500 each; and that you be further imprisoned until such fine be paid, and such security given."

CHAPTER III.

O'Connell's Independence of Character found fault with—O'Connell and Grattan—Lord Donoughmore—The Veto—O'Connell's Speeches on Grattan—Chief Baron Wolfe—The Duel with Mr. D'Esterre—Speech at a Catholic Meeting—Affair of Honor with Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel—The Meeting at Kilmainham Court-House—George the Fourth's Visit to Ireland.

MR. D. OWEN MADDEN, in his work "Ireland and its Rulers," says, that when O'Connell entered public life, "his language was violent, and he quarrelled with the Whig leaders, and laboured to make the venerable Grattan as unpopular as possible."*

No doubt, O'Connell's manly independence of speech, unusual amongst Catholics at that time, alarmed the timid old leaders of his party, who never dreamed of obtaining their rights, except through a spirit of abject servility on their side, and a patronizing condescension on the part of the Protestants. He quarrelled with the Whig leaders! Who were they? Men who would not open their lips in favour of Catholic freedom, unless the independence of the Catholic Church in Ireland was sacrificed for ever by the *Veto*. Men who regarded the Irish Catholics (perhaps some of their successors regard them still) as inferior beings—as a race far below the Saxon and the Norman. "A century of legal degradation," said O'Connell,

* Part the First, p. 22.

"has so lessened and brought down the Irish Catholics, in the eyes of their Protestant neighbours, that we are, in the scale of humanity, but dwarfs compared with those social giants. I was long aware that such was the estimate of us, in which our enemies indulged; but this correspondence was necessary, in order to convince me, that the same prejudice lurked in the minds of our friends. I flattered myself that we had risen in their estimation. I did imagine we had ceased to be whitewashed negroes, and had thrown off, for them, all traces of the colour of servitude; but this correspondence has, I confess, done away the delusion."*

As to leaders, and as to men who wish to become leaders, it is, perhaps, true enough to say, that a good deal of rivalry and jealousy exists amongst them; but it is unjust to charge any man with those feelings, unless there is at hand good proof of their existence. It was said of O'Connell that he was anxious to set John Keogh aside, and to take his place as Catholic leader; but, I cannot find that he ever uttered one harsh or unkind word of good John Keogh, of Mount Jerome. He differed with him, in which difference O'Connell was right, and John Keogh was quite wrong; John Keogh wished the Catholics to give up the agitation of their claims, and retire to the shade of a murky, silent inaction, whence they might scowl their discontent upon the government; but the great founder of *constitutional agitation* saw the folly of such a course, and opposed it, but without a quarrel—without uttering a disparaging word of the man who advised it.

* He was speaking of the correspondence of the Catholic Board *with Lord* Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan.

The same may be said, with regard to O'Connell's conduct towards the illustrious Henry Grattan. Lord Donoughmore, in the House of Lords, and Grattan in the House of Commons, were, for some years, entrusted with the management of the Catholic petition. Neither had the least difficulty in giving a *Veto* to the crown in the appointment of Catholic bishops. They were Protestants, and saw no great evil in it; but O'Connell believed that such a concession would inflict irreparable injury on the Catholic Church, and he was, therefore, a most uncompromising anti-Vetoist; and it is not too much to say of him, that he had the chief hand in saving us from that measure, a measure pregnant with untold mischief.

An intimate friend of, and one who, in some sense, may be looked upon as a biographer of his, Mr. O'Neill Daunt, says, there was no difference between him and Grattan, except upon the *Veto*.* There was no expressed difference certainly, but I question much, if O'Connell approved, or could, within his principles, approve of the support Grattan gave the Insurrection and Arms Acts of 1807. In presenting the Catholic petition on the 27th of February, 1810, Grattan said, "on a former occasion he had suggested to the House, that the Irish Catholics were willing to allow, on the appointment of their bishops, a *Veto* to the Crown. He was sorry to say that at present no such sentiment appeared to prevail. . . . . He retained," he said, "the great principle which he had then advanced, namely, that on the communication to

* "Ireland and her Agitators," by W. J. O'N. Daunt, *Esq., Ed. of 1867, p. 52.*

the Catholics of all the privileges of the constitution, *it was necessary to secure those claims against the danger of a foreign influence, and if the Catholics objected to obtain that security by a Veto, in the crown, it became incumbent on them to furnish some other effectual and palpable remedy.* The Pope was almost certain now to become a subject of France, and a subject of France, for certain, would never be permitted to nominate the spiritual magistrates of the people of Ireland. He should rely, and rest the subject on two great principles—communication of constitutional privileges, and security against a foreign nomination."

Thus did Grattan proclaim himself a thorough Vetoist.

In November, 1813, a correspondence took place between Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan on the one part, and the Catholic Board on the other, relative to the course to be pursued in the then ensuing session of parliament, with regard to the measure of Catholic relief. "Both Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan distinctly and definitely refused to continue in communication with the Catholic Board, in this matter, on the basis proposed by the latter—namely, that no '*securities*' should be embodied in any future 'relief bill,' without the previous knowledge and approbation of the Catholic Prelates." *

Both accused the Board of, at least, the appearance of an intention to invade the privileges of

* The word *Veto* had become unpopular, and other milder words began to be used. Later on in the controversy O'Connell said that the *Veto* question was still coming up, under "its various nicknames of *Securities, Conditions, Adjustments, Regulations,* and *Arrangements.*"

parliament, and to *dictate* to it, by, as Lord Donoughmore worded it, "leaving a naked affirmative or dissent as *their* only remaining sphere of action, to the representatives of the people, and the hereditary counsellors of the crown."

This, in fact, amounted to telling the Catholics, that they had no right to say *what* they wanted, but that they were to take whatever might be offered, and be thankful.

Grattan's letter was even more pointed than that of Lord Donoughmore; Grattan declined to hold any further communication *at all* with the Catholic Board, unless they submitted completely to his views: "My answer is," said he, "that my zeal in the Catholic cause is inextinguishable—that I have a great affection for my fellow citizens of the Catholic religion—that I have a personal regard for a great number of the individuals that are of the Catholic Board, without the least degree of enmity to any of them, and that it is in consequence of these feelings, as well as from a sense of the duty which I owe to parliament, and particularly to the House of Commons, of which I am a member—that *I decline a communication* with the Catholic Board, on a bill to be formed by them for the legislature, or any proceeding like a *dictation* to parliament. I make no doubt the Board will not fall into such an error, there are established regular ways by which they can convey all their wishes. I am satisfied they will resort to such, in which they will be most respectable and persuasive."

On the 8th of January, 1814, there was a meeting of the Catholic Board. The above letters came before it; they had been published for some time, *and were much* commented on. The subject was a

delicate one, but O'Connell dealt with it in a way that left nothing to be desired. The combination of prudence, dignity, and self-respect which he displayed on the occassion, was admirable. Of Lord Donoughmore he said: "in treating of the subject of those letters, and especially of that of the Earl of Donoughmore, I have another guide; it consists in perfect respect for the purity of his intentions and great gratitude for his manly, uncompromising, unconditional, unqualified advocacy of Emancipation.

"As to the other letter—that of Mr Grattan—it is not," he continued, "my intention to introduce, with respect to it, any proceeding for the present, and I am the more inclined to refrain, lest what I have said of Lord Donoughmore should suggest any unpleasant contrast. If such contrast arises, let me not be accused of it—I make no comparisons; and if, in the nature of the facts, any contrast arise, let the blame be flung on the facts, and not on me, who am bound by every *argument* supplied by my judgment, and by every *affection* of my soul, to prefer—greatly to prefer, and to praise—indeed to praise *exclusively*, the unconditional, unqualified, uncompromising advocacy of our rights."

Surely, in all this, the "venerable Grattan" has been treated with the most respectful consideration.

"Would to God," continued O'Connell, that I could revive in the mind of Mr. Grattan his former feelings for the Catholics of Ireland!—that I could rouse him to that energy with which he formerly advocated our cause! What *securities did he ever speak of in the Irish Parliament?* What apprehension was about him for the Established Church, in the

year 1793, when he obtained so much for us? Where were his alarms *then*? and yet that, if ever, was the period in which the Established Church might have been in danger. What is there in the English air to alter the mental vision, so that it shall behold gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire, where before, it saw nothing but the pleasant prospect of amity, strength and social security? Would I could conjure up the ghosts of the illustrious dead, who so often aided him in his battle, for his then *own* Ireland; and amid the group, I would call up the phantom of departed Ireland herself, to remind him of what he was, and what he ought to be, unsophisticated by the delusions of English politics! In the sacred names of the mighty dead, I would conjure him to return to the grand and simple principle of the right to perfect liberty of conscience! Whether he succeed or fail in that pursuit, his ancient glories will brighten in the rays of these, his later honours; and he will singly sustain, in degenerate days, the consistency, as well as the splendour of the first models of Grecian and Roman virtue."

In June, 1815, there was an adjourned meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, held in Clarendon-street Chapel. At that meeting O'Connell suggested that the Catholic petition "should be entrusted to other hands than Grattan's." He said, "to do so was a painful duty, but it was a duty, and he would not, therefore, shrink from it. Mr. Grattan," he continued, "has finally rejected you. You offered him your petition upon this condition, that he would agree to discuss your grievances this session. He refuses to enter into any such agreement. He therefore rejects your petition. . . . .

It remains for us to seek another advocate—an advocate less brilliant in eloquence, but more suited to our views and wishes. At this period it is doubly incumbent on us to make a prudent choice. Mr. Grattan differs from us on the *Veto*. He assented to Canning's clauses, though he did not introduce them."

At the close of his speech on this occasion, O'Connell said, "I cannot conclude without deprecating any declamation on the merits of Mr. Grattan. No man can be more sensible of those merits than I am. I recall to mind his early and his glorious struggles for Ireland. I know he raised her from degradation, and exalted her to her rank as a nation. I recollect, too, that if she be now a pitiful province, Grattan struggled and fought for her, whilst life or hope remained. I know all this and more; and my gratitude and enthusiasm for those services will never be extinguished."

Grattan died in 1820. His son, Henry, stood as candidate for the representation of Dublin later in the same year, on which occasion O'Connell supported him with all his might. He began a hustings speech in his favour in these words:—"We are met on this melancholy occasion, to celebrate the obsequies of the greatest man Ireland ever knew. The widowed land of his birth, in mourning over his remains, feels it is a nation's sorrow, and turns with the anxiety of a parent to alleviate the grief of the orphan he has left."

Most people will see in these quotations from O'Connell's speeches a eulogium upon Grattan, delivered with an eloquence worthy of the great

old man himself; no honest man can find in them a personal attack upon him.

There was a Catholic meeting in Clare in the March of this year, on the never-ending *securities*. At that meeting Counsellor, afterwards Chief Baron Wolfe, a man of singular ability, made a speech in favour of the *Veto*. Amongst other things, the Catholic Board was attacked for being disrespectful to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan. Mr. Wolfe's speech in favour of the *Veto* was "a splendid oratorical effort." O'Connell saw its effect upon the meeting, and felt the necessity of removing it. His own account of the matter, given by Mr. O'Neill Daunt, is, of course, the truest and the best.

"The Repealers of Newcastle, in the county of Limerick," writes Mr. O'Neill Daunt, "gave O'Connell a public dinner on the 19th of January, [1843]. Next morning we breakfasted at the house of the Rev. Dr. Coll, who praised the late Chief Baron Wolfe, adding, 'I believe, Mr. O'Connell, he was strongly opposed to you on the *Veto* question.' 'Yes,' answered O'Connell, 'Wolfe thought that emancipation should be purchased at the expense of handing over to government the appointment of the Catholic bishops, under the name of a *Veto*. The only occasion on which we came into public collision with each other on that subject was at a great meeting in Limerick, when he made a powerful speech—as powerful as could be made in a bad cause—in favour of the *Veto*. He came forward to the front of the gallery. We were in the body of the house; and, in the delivery of his discourse, there was manifested some little *disposition to* interrupt him, but I easily prevented

that. When I rose, in reply, I told the story of the sheep that were fattening under the protection of their dogs, when an address to them, to get rid of their dogs, was presented by the wolves. I said that the leading *Wolfe* came forward to the front of the gallery, and persuaded the sheep to give up the dogs. They obeyed him, and were instantly devoured; and I then expressed a hope, that the Catholics of Ireland would be warned by that example, never to yield to a *Wolfe* again. With that pleasantry our difference ended; for he admitted that the popular sentiment was against him, and he gave up any further agitation of that question.'"

"'I well recollect that occasion,' said Dr. Coll to me, 'and afterwards Wolfe observed, 'how useless it is to contend with O'Connell. Here, I have made an oration that I had been elaborating for three weeks previously, and this man entirely demolishes the effect of all my rhetoric, by a flash of humour, and a pun upon my name.'"*

Whatever faults or vices have been laid at the door of Irishmen, and they are many, their worst enemies have never dared to charge them with cowardice. They are brave—often, indeed, to rashness—and they have a genuine, hearty admiration for bravery in others. The humblest peasant amongst us, could not continue to entertain respect for the man, who showed cowardice on an occasion that called for courage or fearlessness. Hence duelling was a favourite institution in Ireland—hence the famous duel between O'Connell and

* "Personal Recollections of O'Connell," by W. J. O'Neill Daunt. Vol. ii., p. 123.

D'Esterre called forth—first, the greatest anxiety, and next the wildest enthusiasm of the people. This sad and fatal encounter took place on the 1st of February, 1815, about twelve or thirteen miles from Dublin, in Bishop's Court demesne, situate in the county Kildare, on the south-west boundary of the county Dublin. It was then the seat of Lord Ponsonby; it is now the residence of the Earl of Clonmel.

On the 22nd of January, at a Catholic meeting which was held in Capel-street, O'Connell said:—"I am convinced that the Catholic cause has suffered by neglect of discussion. Had the petition been, last year, the subject of debate, we should not now see the *beggarly Corporation* of Dublin anticipating our efforts, by a petition of an opposite tendency." His speech was reported in the newspapers next day, but no notice was taken of it by any member of the Corporation, until the *twenty-sixth*; so that that body would seem to have occupied several days in discussing the offensive expression, or rather, perhaps, in endeavouring to find a corporator plucky enough to call O'Connell to account for it. Unfortunately for poor Mr. D'Esterre, he became their champion, and on the 26th, wrote a letter to O'Connell asking him if he had used the words "beggarly Corporation;" at the same time expressing his hope that the editor, not O'Connell, was in error; he ended by requesting a reply in the course of the evening. O'Connell penned an answer next day, neither "admitting or disclaiming the expression." He further said:—"I deem it right to inform you, that from the calumnious manner in which the religion and character of the Catholics of Ireland are

treated in that body, no terms attributed to me, however reproachful, can exceed the contemptuous feelings I entertain for that body, in its corporate capacity, although, doubtless, it contains many valuable persons, whose conduct as individuals (I lament) must necessarily be confounded in the acts of the general body." He added, "*this letter must close our correspondence on this subject.*"

In spite of this broad, unmistakeable hint, Mr. D'Esterre wrote a second letter, which Mr. James O'Connell opened in his brother's absence, but which, having examined the signature, he returned *unread.* This was on Friday. Nothing more occurred with regard to the affair until Sunday. On that day Mr. James O'Connell received a letter from Mr. D'Esterre, containing disrespectful observations on himself and his brother. On receipt of it, he immediately sent his friend, Captain O'Mullane, to Mr. D'Esterre, to say, that after adjusting his affair with his brother, he would bring him to account for his conduct to himself; adding, that Counsellor O'Connell was astonished at his not hearing, in what he conceived *the proper way,* from Mr. D'Esterre. On Monday morning, Mr. Lidwell, who was to be O'Connell's friend in the business, was obliged to leave Dublin on account of the serious illness of some members of his family. On Tuesday, there was a widely-spread rumour that Mr. D'Esterre had gone to the Four Courts to inflict personal chastisement on O'Connell, for the insult he supposed himself to have received. Mr. D'Esterre did not meet the object of his indignation, but he did meet my esteemed friend, the late Mr. Richard O'Gorman, the brother of Purcell O'Gorman, and father of our eloquent and distin-

guished countryman, Mr. Richard O'Gorman, o New York, who told him he was pursuing a very unusual course of conduct. "You conceive," said Mr. O'Gorman, "that you received an offence from O'Connell—if so, your course is, to demand satisfaction. This, I understand, you have not yet done; but if you are now resolved to do so, I undertake, on forfeiture of having a riddle made of my body, to have O'Connell on his ground in half an hour." This occurred about three o'clock, but no challenge followed. Later in the day, O'Connell walked about the streets in company with some friends, but the crowd of sympathisers that soon surrounded him became so large, that he was obliged to take refuge in a house in Exchequer-street (now Wicklow-street), in order to avoid their enthusiastic demonstrations.

He was not long in this retreat, when Judge Day entered, in his magisterial capacity, to put him under arrest. He said, however, that he would be satisfied if he had the guarantee of Mr. O'Connell's honor, that he would proceed no further in the business. "It is not my duty Mr. Justice," said O'Connell, "to be the aggressor—I will, therefore, pledge my honor that I will not be the aggressor —further, however, I must tell you, that human consideration will not induce me to go." Judge Day then retired, and shortly afterwards O'Connell returned to Merrion Square. Meantime, it was observed that Mr. D'Esterre was in a shop in Grafton street, surrounded by a number of friends. This day, Tuesday, came to a close, and there was yet no challenge.

At last, on Wednesday morning, Sir Edward Stanley, as the friend of Mr. D'Esterre, waited upon

O'Connell with a hostile message. Sir Edward was one of the Duke of Richmond's city knights, wine merchant to the Castle, and barrack-master to the city of Dublin, at a salary of £800 a year. Sir Edward opened his mission by saying he wished to get an explanation— but O'Connell at once refused to have any conversation with him relative to Mr. D'Esterre,—"my friend," he said, "is Major McNamara, here is his address:" and he handed it to Sir Edward.* The seconds met at 12 o'clock, at Major McNamara's lodgings, to arrange time and place. O'Connell's second had a right to regulate both, and he did so, by naming Bishop's Court demense at 3 o'clock the same day. Sir Edward Stanley endeavoured to prolong the time, but Major McNamara refused to entertain the proposal.

And so at three o'clock precisely, O'Connell, attended by his second, Surgeon Macklin, and a number of friends was on the ground. About four, Mr. D'Esterre, attended only by Surgeon Peele, Sir Edward Stanley (his second), Mr. Piers, and Mr. D'Esterre, of Limerick, appeared.

Forty minutes were spent in preliminary arrangements. During this interval, Mr. D'Esterre took occassion, to say that his quarrel with Mr. O'Connell was not of a religious nature;—to the Catholics or their leaders, he said he had no animosity whatever.

* Major McNamara of Doolen, in the county Clare, who was regarded as one of the noblest specimens of manly beauty and princely dignity to be met with. He was thoroughly conversant with everything pertaining to the laws of honor, as they were called; a fire eater and a dead shot. A Protestant himself, he was by far the most popular man in Clare—the most Catholic county in Ireland, which he represented for many years in parliament.

O'Connell's second won the choice of ground, which was always considered important on such occassions. At forty minutes past four o'clock the combatants were placed. They both displayed the greatest coolness and courage. As to Mr. O'Connell we never saw him in better spirits, or more composed; indeed his cheerfulness was the astonishment of every spectator. It would be injustice to Mr. D'Esterre, whatever opinion we may have of the part he espoused, (or rather of the party who stimulated him to this act,) to deny that he appeared perfectly selfpossesed.* Before the principals had finally taken their ground, Sir Edward Stanley thus addressed Major McNamara:—Well, sir, when each has discharged his case of pistols, I hope the affair will be considered as terminated, and that we leave the ground." Major McNamara replied:—"Sir, you may, of course, take your friend from the ground when you please. You, sir are the challenger, and you may retire from the ground whenever you think proper; but I shall not enter into any such condition as you propose. However,

* This is the account of the *Evening Post*, but, in my early days there was a tradition which differed from it, as far as Mr. D'Esterre was concerned. It was this: when the word was given to measure the ground, both Mr. D'Esterre's arms were observed to sink suddenly at his sides, as if they had become powerless, noticing which, O'Connell's second said to those near him,—"That's a dead man."

Of O'Connell's demeanour on the ground, the late Jeremiah McCarthy of Dawson street used to relate the following anecdote:—O'Connell recognizing him during the time that elapsed, whilst preliminaries were being arranged, said to him, with his usual cheerful buoyancy of manner: *"Well, Jerry, I never missed you at an aggregate meeting yet!"*

it is probable there may be no occasion to discharge the whole of a case of pistols."

The friends of both parties retired, and the combatants having a pistol in each hand, with directions to discharge them at their discretion, prepared to fire. The distance was ten paces. They levelled, and before the lapse of a second both shots were heard. Mr. D'Esterre's was first, and missed (one account says, 'fell short'); Mr. O'Connell's followed instantaneously, and took effect in the thigh of his antagonist, about an inch below the hip. Mr. D'Esterre, of course, fell; both surgeons hastened to him. They found the ball had traversed the hip and could not be found. There was an immense effusion of blood. All parties prepared to move towards home; O'Connell and his friends arrived in town before eight o'clock.

"Nothing," says one of the authorities on this painful subject, "nothing could be more correct or honorable than the conduct of the parties upon the ground. Mr. O'Connell displayed all the gentleness of heart so peculiarly belonging to his character, and his particular request to his medical friend, before taking his ground, was this: 'Should any fatality happen to my opponent, I entreat you to consider him as your patient—treat him with all the care you would devote to me.'"

It was reported in Dublin that O'Connell was shot; and a party of Dragoons were despatched from the city for the protection of Mr. D'Esterre. On their way, the officer by whom they were commanded met, on its return, the carriage containing Mr. O'Connell and his brother. The officer called on the postillions to stop; whereupon Mr. James O'Connell pulled down the window. The officer

addressing him, asked if they had been present at the duel, to which he replied in the affirmative. The officer then said, "Is it true Mr. O'Connell has been shot?" Mr. James O'Connell replied, "No; the reverse is the fact, Mr. D'Esterre has unfortunately fallen." The announcement had a visible effect upon the military; they were not prepared for the intelligence, and something like consternation was exhibited. The carriage was allowed to proceed; the military party being evidently not aware who were the occupants.*

When Mr. D'Esterre fell, the spectators could not refrain from giving expression to their excited feelings. They actually shouted; and a young collegian who was present, and who is now an excellent exemplary Protestant clergyman, was so carried away by the general feeling, that he flung his hat in the air and shouted "Huzza for O'Connell." Very different was the conduct of the three occupants of O'Connell's carriage. They displayed no exultation. The moment D'Esterre fell they went off; and though the place of meeting was near Naas, they were close to Dublin before a single word was exchanged between them. At last O'Connell broke the silence, saying "I fear he is dead, he fell so suddenly. Where do you think he was hit?" "In the head I think," was the reply. "That cannot be—I aimed low; the ball must have entered near the thigh." This will be considered a remarkable observation, when it is recollected where, as was subsequently found, the wound was inflicted. It shows the perfect coolness and humanity of O'Connell. Being one

* Fagans's Life and Times of O'Connell, Vol. i. p. 151.

of the surest shots that ever fired a pistol, he could have hit his antagonist where he pleased; but his object was, merely in self-defence, to wound him in no mortal part, and he aimed low with that intention.*

The excitement in Dublin, when the result was known, cannot be described. Over seven hundred gentlemen left their cards at O'Connell's house the day after the occurrence. The duel increased his popularity enormously, for the Catholics of Ireland justly felt, that the quarrel was theirs far more than his, and that he had staked his life in their service.

Mr. D'Esterre lived over Wednesday night, Thursday, Thursday night, and died on Friday. His remains were interred in St. Mary's Church. On Saturday, Sir Edward Stanley, his second in the duel, wrote to Mr. O'Connell to say, that the friends of Mr. D'Esterre had not "the most distant intention of any prosecution," and that he need not interrupt his professional avocations. This letter was handsomely acknowledged by O'Connell, who said :—"It is to me a mournful consolation

* Ibid, p. 152. No one can, for a moment, doubt O'Connell's humanity and kindness of heart. Beyond any question, his most anxious desire was to avoid inflicting a mortal wound upon his antagonist; but in a life and death struggle, every man may be fairly supposed to do his best. Distinct from any other reason, O'Connell, by aiming at the point of the hip, increased his chances of hitting D'Esterre. That being about the centre of the body, by aiming at it, he gave himself more *surface* for his bullet, than by aiming at any other point whatever. In short, it was long accepted as a fact by the Kildare peasantry and others, that O'Connell aimed as he did *by the advice of his second*, given to him in these homely words:—"Take him at the *gallows* button, Dan, and you'll not miss him."

to meet such generous sentiments from those who must be afflicted by the late unhappy event."

So closed an episode in O'Connell's life, the particulars of which must be always read with sorrow as well as historic interest.

There are two or three circumstances connected with it, which are of sufficient interest to be noted here.

1. Mr. D'Esterre was in the Corporation as representative of the Guild of Merchants, and had acted a spirited part there, in the advocacy of the right of Ireland to an unrestricted trade. It is even said, and, we believe, with perfect truth, that he had actually opposed a resolution of anti-Catholic tendency, proposed by the notorious Jack Giffard—the very resolution against which Mr. O'Connell directed the speech, in which he used the expression towards the Corporation, which was made the groundwork of the unhappy affair.*

Everyone must feel what a pity it was that Mr. D'Esterre should lose his life under such circumstances; but still one cannot possibly understand, why he allowed himself to be made the tool of a faction on the occasion.

2. Such was the anxiety of O'Connell's personal friends as to the result of the duel, that a Catholic Priest, Father O'Mullane, an estimable clergyman from the diocese of Derry, posted out to the place of meeting, without apprising any one of his intention, and stationed himself in a neighbouring cottage, for the purpose of being at hand to render spiritual assistance to O'Connell, in the event of

* "Memoir and Speeches of O'Connell," by his Son. *Vol. ii., p.* 193.

his being wounded. This good priest afterwards died in the West Indies.*

3. Mr. D'Esterre was an officer of marines in the navy. After he had quitted that service, he became a provision merchant and contractor, and resided on Bachelor's-walk in Dublin. When O'Connell went to the Four Courts, his most direct way was by Bachelor's-walk; and for years after the fatal encounter, it was observed, that whenever he passed the house in which Mr. D'Esterre resided, he lifted his hat, but not in a manner to attract public observation; and his lips were seen to move as if in silent prayer. Mr. D'Esterre's family were left by him with exceedingly small means. O'Connell proposed to make an annual provision for his widow—he offered, as he said, "to share his income with her;" but the offer was refused. Subsequently he acted in the noblest manner to a daughter of Mr. D'Esterre's—a most accomplished lady—whose circumstances were not affluent. She was allowed by him an annuity to the day of her death; and to her mother he was ever ready to afford any kindness in his power. A short time previous to an Assizes in Cork, having been specially retained to go another circuit, pressing letters were written to him in order to induce him to go to Cork. Some important cases were to be tried there, and his professional assistance was earnestly required. He declined attending; but receiving a letter from the Rev. T. England, P.P. of Passage, stating that the plaintiff in one of those cases was the widow of Mr.

* "Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell," by William Fagan, Esq., M.P. Vol. i., p. 141.

D'Esterre, and that to her and her children a favourable result was of the last importance. He threw up his special briefs, his large retaining fees, and, proceeding to Cork, acted on her behalf, and succeeded in obtaining a verdict.*

O'Connell remained in what may be called retirement for about three weeks after his duel with Mr. D'Esterre. His first public appearance was at a Catholic meeting on the 23rd of February. He submitted to that meeting a resolution, calling on the different counties and cities in Ireland to petition for *unqualified* emancipation. The Catholics at this time were feeble on account of their divisions. Those who were satisfied to give the government *securities* (*i.e.*, who were willing to agree to the *Veto*), had retired from public agitation, amongst them Mr. Shiel and Lord Fingal. Those who acted thus were called the seceders. After speaking of the value of discussion, and of persevering in sending petitions to parliament, O'Connell continued to say :—"The great advantages of discussion being thus apparent, the efficacy of repeating and repeating, and repeating again our petitions, being thus demonstrated by notorious facts, the Catholics of Ireland must be sunk in criminal apathy, if they neglect the use of an instrument so efficacious for their emancipation. There is further encouragement at this particular crisis. Dissension has ceased in the Catholic body. Those who paralysed our efforts, and gave our conduct the appearance and reality of weakness, and wavering and inconsistency, have all retired. Those who

* "*Life and Times* of Daniel O'Connell," by William *Fagan, Esq., M.P.* Vol. i., p. 155.

were ready to place the entire of the Catholic feelings and dignity, and some *of the Catholic religion too*, under the feet of every man who pleased to call himself our friend, and to prove himself our friend, by praising, on every occasion, and upon no occasion, the oppressors of the Catholics, and by abusing the Catholics themselves: the men who would link the Catholic cause to *this* patron and to *that*, and sacrifice it at one time to the minister and at another to the opposition, and make it this day the tool of one party and the next the instrument of another party: the men, in fine, who hoped to traffic upon our country and our religion—who would buy honors and titles, and places and pensions, at the price of the *purity* and *dignity* and *safety* of the Catholic Church of Ireland—all those men have, thank God, quitted us, I hope, for ever. They have returned into silence and secession, or have frankly or covertly gone over to our enemies. I regret deeply and bitterly that they have carried with them some few who, like my Lord Fingal, entertain no other motives than those of purity and integrity, and who, like that noble lord, are merely mistaken. But I rejoice at this separation. I rejoice that they have left the simple-hearted and the disinterested, and the indefatigable and the independent, and the numerous and the sincere Catholics to work out their emancipation unclogged, unshackled and undismayed."

Just seven months after the untimely death of Mr. D'Esterre, O'Connell found himself with another "affair of honor" on hands. This time it was with Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel, then Chief Secretary for Ireland. The affair is a very tangled one, but I will try to unravel it. On

Tuesday, the 29th of August, 1815, there was an Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics held in Dublin, at which O'Connell expressed himself as follows:—"All I shall say of him (Mr. Peel), by way of parenthesis, is, that I am told he has, in my absence, and in a place where he was privileged from any account, grossly traduced me. I said, at the last meeting, in presence of the note-takers of the police, who are paid by him, that he was too prudent to attack me in my presence. I see the same police informers here now, and I authorize them carefully to report these my words—that Mr. Peel would not DARE, in my presence, or in any place where he was liable to personal account, use a single expression derogatory to my interest or my honor."

The speech in which the above passage occurs appeared in some of the Dublin journals of Wednesday, and on Thursday morning, the 31st, Sir Charles Saxton, as the friend of Mr. Peel, waited on O'Connell to ask an explanation of it. Sir Charles published in the newspapers of Saturday a long account of the interview, and of one with Mr. Lidwell, who acted as the friend of O'Connell, in which he says—that the latter feared some legal proceedings were intended, more particularly as his commentary on words used in parliament was a breach of privilege. On Sir Charles assuring him that nothing of the kind was contemplated, O'Connell admitted that the report of his speech in the *Dublin Chronicle* was substantially correct. Sir Charles then makes a statement regarding his interview with Mr. Lidwell, all which was contained in a "memorandum" which appeared in the newspapers of Saturday.

Meantime, Mr. Lidwell wrote thus to O'Connell on Friday :—

"MY DEAR O'CONNELL—Sir Charles Saxton called on me twice while I was absent from this. The last time he left a note to say, when he would hear I was at home he would again call on me. I expect him every moment; and therefore write this to you to have horses ready, as I will appoint the first field adjoining Celbridge, in the county Kildare, and an immediate hour for meeting, which I must naturally think he is now coming to require."

O'Connell's reply was :—"MY DEAR FRIEND—Do just as you please. I only think the county Kildare OUGHT to be the place; I care not where there. Everything will be ready EXPEDITIOUSLY. My family would be less alarmed if we postpone it till morning; but do just as you please." This letter was written from Harcourt-street, not from Merrion-square.

When Mr. Lidwell read Sir Charles Saxton's "memorandum" on Saturday, he wrote a statement to O'Connell, which, of course, could not appear until Monday. The following are extracts from it :—

Sir Charles Saxton wished O'Connell to be the challenger. Mr. Lidwell thought he should not, and he thus gives his reasons, in his statement:—"I then told him that the asperity of the language you had used respecting Mr. Peel, while under the impression of receiving illtreatment from him, had been so grossly offensive, that I considered you to be the aggressor; that the English language did not admit of an expression more galling and debasing, than to say of any man, he would not dare to

do in the presence of another, what he did in his absence; that it was a broad and unqualified charge of cowardice, which a denial, or an offer to prove unfounded was not sufficient to repel; that though it may tend, in some respect, to set up the individual so abused, yet it did not go to punish the insult; that this impression was so strongly fixed in my mind, that I told you, that if you persisted in wishing to send a hostile communication to Mr. Peel, I must decline any further interference on your part; for, that it would be an unjustifiable prodigality of your own life, and a wanton aggression on that of another. After some little pause, Sir Charles Saxton asked me, if I knew what were the observations, of Mr. Peel, in parliament, of which you complained? I candidly acknowledged, that I had not seen any report, which could justify your charge on him; but that you mentioned to me, he had said, in quoting some passage of a speech of yours, that in quoting you, it was not an ordinary individual, but one who could lead the Catholics of Ireland to his own purposes, and broadly insinuatiug that those purposes were dishonest. Sir Charles instantly replied—"Mr. Peel never said any such thing, nor anything which justified personality to him; that he got every report he could, and that no one bore any such feature; that he would avow every one he saw, or anything he said." I agreed with him, as far as those I had seen, and mentioned my regret at the observations you have made respecting Mr. Peel. I again repeated, to avoid any misconception, as I then observed, my opinion, that it was not from you any hostile proceeding should come, for the reasons I before stated."

Mr. Lidwell ends his letter thus:—"I am not in-

clined to doubt the courage of any man. If I was, the character of Mr. Peel, in that way, would not be raised in my estimation, by his conduct on the present occassion. Labouring under a charge, which he has given ample evidence he deeply feels, he might have *led* you to the field; but in place of that, he has compelled you to follow him to the printing office. In a transaction in which I know I was not only accountable to the public, but eventually might be awfully responsible to my Maker, I acted with the most mature deliberation. Whether I am as competent to form as just a conclusion on such a subject as Sir Charles Saxton, our countrymen must judge; but whatever that judgment shall be, I should be unjust, if I did not take the entire responsibility on myself, for I acted throughout, without once respecting your feeling on the occasion." *

* Perceiving Sir Charles Saxton's anxiety, that if there were to be a hostile message in the case it should emanate from O'Connell, Mr. Lidwell would naturally endeavour to prove O'Connell the aggressor, in order that Mr. Peel, not O'Connell, should be the challenger. Be that as it may, Mr. Lidwell seems to me to have adhered to the facts with careful accuracy. The passage in Mr. Peel's speech, as given by O'Connell himself, could hardly justify his scathing attack on that gentleman; moreover, Sir Charles Saxton asserted, and Mr. Lidwell admitted, that in no report of Mr. Peel's speech which could be had, did there occur any phrase bearing the import of the one quoted by O'Connell to Mr. Lidwell. I have examined Mr. Peel's speeches in the House of Commons during the Session of 1815, and his only allusion to O'Connell was made on the 30th of May, when the Catholic Petition was brought forward by Sir Henry Parnell. Mr. Peel bitterly opposed it, and attacked the Catholic Board, the Catholic Committee, and, in fact, every organization which had for its object the putting forward of the Catholic claims. He held them all to be illegal. He next proceeded to say, that "the passage

On Sunday. the 3rd of September, O'Connell wrote the following letter to the newspapers, enclosing Mr. Lidwell's statement, quoted above.

"Merrion Square, Sept. 3rd, 1815.

"Sir—The very novel and extraordinary course pursued by Mr. Peel and Sir Charles Saxton having terminated in a newspaper publication, I beg

which he was about to read did not refer to any part of the conduct of the hon. baronet (Sir H. Parnell), but of a gentleman (Mr. O'Connell) who possessed the confidence of the Irish Catholics in a greater degree than any other person, and who had the votes of every individual of the Association, for his appointment to the sub-committee, of which he was a member. At every meeting of the Catholics of Ireland the thanks of the body to Mr. O'Connell were amongst their resolutions. The opinion of a person who seemed thus to represent the opinions of the Catholic Body was of some importance. And the more so, because he had drawn up the resolutions and the bill, which, to save the parliament the trouble of legislation, had been drawn up and previously circulated, and which the Catholics presented, as the only measure they would have ('*hear*,' from some members of the opposition side of the house). If the honourable members thought a different bill might be brought in, they must hear in what terms the bill of 1813 was described by Mr. O'Connell: 'It is impossible,' he says, 'that you should bear the name and form of Irishmen, and not abhor that absurd and mischievous bill. You need not be warned that you must not confide in your members,' &c. Then alluding to the cheer with which the report of the contested clause in the bill of 1813 being lost, was received, he says:—'That ruffian shout of English insolence may be the last outrage on poor fallen, degraded Ireland. The day-star of her liberty will arise [in the shape of the bill which the honourable baronet would propose]. This last insult is indelibly fixed in the mind of every Irish Catholic, and though it may be forgiven, it cannot be forgotten.' Such language augured the impossibility of any conciliatory arrangement." *Hansard.* Vol. xxxi, p. 505.

of you to publish for me the enclosed letter, which I received from my friend Mr. Lidwell.

"The dexterity of my adversary in publishing on Saturday evening, has given him, what I suppose he estimates highly—one day's *talking* at me. This paltry trick he resorts to; and yet he declares that he 'feels anxious for an *early* statement of a transaction' which occurred two days before!!!

"The conversation between Sir Charles Saxton and me is very inaccurately stated by that gentleman, in the *Correspondent*. I will only notice two particulars—first, his omitting to mention, that on my expressing *my own opinion* on the fitness of my sending to Mr. Peel, I added 'any friend would disappoint my hopes and wishes who should advise me not to call on Mr. Peel;' and secondly, his inserting the last reply which he has attributed to himself—*not one word of which did he utter in my presence.*

"For the rest, I leave the case to the Irish public. I have disavowed nothing; I have retracted nothing; I have refused the gentleman nothing; I have only to regret that they have ultimately preferred a paper war.

"I am, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

The above letter, together with Mr. Lidwell's statement, was published on Monday; in the evening of the same day, the following letter was written to O'Connell:—

"Dublin Castle,

"Sept. 4th, 1815, (6 o'clock).

"SIR—Having seen in a newspaper of this evening, a letter, bearing your signature, connected with a communication which I have recently made

to you, imputing to me a 'paltry trick,' and concluding with the expression of your regret that I had ultimately preferred a paper war,' I have to require that you will appoint a friend, who may, with Colonel Brown (the bearer of this letter), make such arrangements as the case requires.

"I am, Sir, &c., &c.,

"ROBERT PEEL."

On the morning of the 5th of September, Col. Brown, having received no communication, wrote to O'Connell regarding the delay, to which he replied as follows:—

"Mr. O'Connell presents his compliments to Colonel Brown, and, with the utmost concern, begs to inform him that the delay has been caused by a circumstance of the most painful nature—his having been put under arrest by the sheriff—which is still aggravated by his feelings, from having been done by Mrs. O'Connell, who, agitated by the publications in the newspapers, sent privately, and after he had gone to bed, to the sheriff."

O'Connell could not now fight a duel in any part of the United Kingdom, without incurring the severest penalties. Through his friend, Mr. Bennett, he offers to give Mr. Peel a meeting "at the most convenient part of Europe." The offer is accepted, and "Ostend is named as the place of rendezvous, but on the arrival of the parties there they may fix *any place on the Continent more convenient.*"

Mr. Peel's movements do not seem to have been interfered with by the authorities at all, but O'Connell had much difficulty in avoiding them, *even before he left* Ireland.

On the night of the 6th of September Mr. Peel sailed for England, without let or hindrance. Although the government knew he was in England, and the business which brought him there, no action was taken concerning him. After being about six days in that country, we find him at Dover, on the 13th of September. His arrival at that seaport was announced in the *Sun* newspaper, and the object of his journey plainly stated. He reached Ostend on the 15th.

O'Connell went to the south of Ireland to look for a vessel, that would bring him *all the way* by water, fearing that if he crossed England he would be arrested. Such vessel could not be found. The police were watching for him at every port. "The names of Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Lidwell were respectively noted, and their descriptions taken by officers stationed for the purpose at Milford Haven and Holyhead."* They, however, got to London; Mr. Lidwell by Holyhead, O'Connell from the south. In London, passports were secured from the Dutch Ambassador for O'Connell and his friends, and arrangements were made that they should start next morning, before daylight. O'Connell was to go by Brighton and his friends by Calais. But the government police, who allowed Mr. Peel not only to pass unmolested through England, *but to spend about a week* in it, were too much for O'Connell. They arrested him at *four* o'clock in the morning, as he was entering a carriage to proceed from his hotel (Holyland's, in the Strand) to the Continent. Lavender was the officer who arrested Mr. O'Connell, by virtue of a

* "Fagan's Life and Times of O'Connell." Vol. i., p. 193.

warrant from the Lord Chief Justice. "So completely was Mr. O'Connell pursued by the *winged* messengers of the law, that the officer had information of the time when the post-chaise was ordered. He was also furnished with an accurate description of Mr. O'Connell's person, which he showed that gentleman after he took him into custody."* He was conveyed in a coach to the police magistrates at Bow-street, escorted by *forty* picked constables. He was there bound over to keep the peace towards Mr. Peel and Sir Charles Saxton, and not to leave England for the purpose of fighting either of them. The recognizance was taken before Sir Simon Le Blanc. The terms of it were:—That Mr. O'Connell shall keep the peace—himself in a bond of £1,000 and two sureties in £500 each. Mr. O'Connell's sureties were Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Patterson.

His recognizance in Ireland was £10,000.

The affair being thus arrested, immediate notice was sent by letter to Mr. Peel at Ostend, and all parties returned to their avocations in Ireland.†

The state of the Catholic cause in Ireland from 1815 to 1819 would make any man, less energetic and buoyant than O'Connell, despair. The terrible war which England had almost continuously waged with France, from 1793 to 1815, taxed all her powers to the utmost, and so crippled her resources, that she had at her command but scant means to defend Ireland from an enemy that might invade it in force. France had made two attempts

* "Memoirs and Speeches of O'Connell," by his Son. Vol. ii., p. 231.

† Ibid. Vol. ii., p. 233.

upon it within a short time, which, although abortive, still showed the attention of the statesmen of that country was fixed on Ireland, as a place where a crushing blow could be dealt to the power and prestige of Great Britain. A French army would have been received by the enslaved Irish Catholics, as a *liberating* army any day it landed. England was well aware and quite alive to all this, and hence, after the dethronement and execution of Louis XVI., France having declared war against England, the Irish Secretary *unasked* (for the petition he held in his hand, while he spoke, was merely got up that he might speak from it), the Irish Secretary, on the part of the Ministry, *unasked*, introduced and carried through the Irish parliament, with *notable celerity*, the Catholic Relief Bill of 1793. From that until the fall of Napoleon I., in 1815, a French invasion of Ireland was always a probable and, by England, a dreaded event. Hence, during all that time, agitation—manifestations of discontent—and the demand for civil rights by the Catholics, told with special effect on the Minister of the day. The Catholics knew this as well as he did, having learned by experience that England's difficulties were Ireland's opportunities.

The battle of Waterloo in 1815, and the peace which followed, laid the hopes of the Irish Catholics prostrate; and lest anything should be wanting to ruin their prospects utterly, their own divisions on the *Veto* question were continued over those years. No spirit—no heart—no pluck—no united action—in fact, apparently, no hope; even some of those friends who were wont to sympathise with, and sustain them, withdrew from them.

"To such an extent did this helplessness and inactivity prevail, that even the rent of the rooms in Capel-street, tenanted by the Catholics for the purposes of their meetings, was unpaid, until Mr. O'Connell put his hand in his own pocket for the purpose. Resigning them as too expensive, he took smaller rooms in Crow-street, and for a long time discharged all expenses connected with them, and with all that remained of the "*working*" of the Catholic cause."*

In proportion as the Catholics were depressed, the Orange and Tory party were elated by the fall of Napoleon. They were jubilant to excess over the event, being fully persuaded that with him fell, never to rise again, the hopes of the Catholics of Ireland.

On one of the few occasions that O'Connell addressed a public audience at this period, he—even he—spoke despondingly of "the depression of those miserable times."

The Catholic claims were always sustained by a considerable number of kind-hearted, liberal Protestants. In the beginning of 1819, they held an important demonstration in favour of those claims at the Rotunda, and a large meeting of the inhabitants of the parishes of SS. Andrew's, Mark's, and Anne's was convened in Townsend-street Chapel, on the 27th of January, to thank them for their sympathy and support. At that meeting O'Connell proposed the resolutions; the two most important being:—1. "That we deem it our first duty to offer the tribute of our most grateful

* "*Memoirs and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.," by his Son.* Vol. ii., p. 242.

thanks to our esteemed and respected brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who have come forward with such distinguished liberality and cordiality to petition for our Emancipation." 2. "That, encouraged by their example and support, we do renew our application to the legislature for the total repeal of the penal laws still affecting our body." The report of the meeting says:—"Mr. O'Connell spoke in the most animated and enthusiastic terms of the liberality and beneficence of those estimable Irish Protestants who are at present preparing applications to parliament on behalf of their suffering Catholic brethren. He hailed, in glowing language, the dawn of friendship and affection, which has at length broken in upon Irishmen." Some weeks later "the largest and most respectable meeting of Catholics which ever took place in Ireland was held (on March the 1st, 1819) in the old chapel in Mary's-lane—the Right Hon. the Earl of Fingal in the chair—for the purpose of expressing, in the most marked manner, the gratitude of the Catholic body to the Protestants who had lately come forward to petition parliament in their behalf."

O'Connell, addressing this meeting, said:—"The happy, the glorious era, which must be immortal in the history of Ireland, had arrived;—yes, *had arrived,* and is no longer to be wished for, when these odious and devastating distinctions were removed. Protestants have assembled, and expressed their honourable feeling on the claims of their Catholic friends and brethren. The first Protestant nobleman of the country, the Duke of Leinster, one of whose ancestors was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, on the broad plea

of being 'more Irish than the Irish themselves,' whose diffidence became his youthful years—it was delightful to see him shaking off that diffidence, which, if it continued, must impede his political career in leading on that glorious array of Protestant benevolence; the Earl of Meath, always a friend and patron of Ireland; Charlemont, whose name was music to Irish ears; Grattan, whose eloquence and virtue raised Ireland into independence and liberty—the old patriot Grattan, who had given Ireland all she had, and would have made her all she ought to be."

In the course of 1820 there was a public dinner at "Darcy's Great Rooms, Corn Exchange." One of the toasts was:—

THE MEMORY OF JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.

It was proposed by O'Connell, who said:—"The toast it had fallen to his lot to propose was, the memory of one of the greatest Irish patriots. His patriotism was undeviating, his eloquence unequalled—uniting, at the same time, the very soul of wit and humour with the most touching pathos, in language at once classical, sublime and irresistible. The love of country was impressed upon his heart, and his superior talents shed a lustre on the profession to which he belonged. He sought no personal advantage or emolument, but by his conduct gained the respect even of his enemies; and when, late in life, he succeeded to that situation to which his talents so justly entitled him, it was but the honourable reward of genius, perseverance, and *industry*. In this city, in the worst of times, he *was seen fearlessly* marching through the ranks of

blood, with the bayonet to his breast, true to humanity and to his clients, and advocating the cause of those victims he could not save. Yet now—oh, disgrace to Ireland!—his remains are consigned to an obscure churchyard in England, with not a stone to mark the spot where sleeps John Philpot Curran; and even in the country that he loved, there is nothing as yet to record his name."*

George IV. was, at this time, and had been for a considerable time, very unpopular, on account of his heartless persecution of his wife, Queen

* Curran died at Brompton on the 14th of October, 1817. He was interred in Paddington Church, his funeral being quite private. His remains were removed to Glasnevin Cemetery in 1834, where a fine granite monument has been erected to his memory, a few paces from the entrance.

It is a curious fact that Curran had a scolding match with a Cork fishwoman not unlike O'Connell's set-to with Biddy Moriarty. It is thus given by Charles Phillips:—

"Curran used to relate a ludicrous encounter between himself and a fishwoman on the quay at Cork. This lady, whose tongue would have put Billingsgate to the blush, was incited one day to assail him, which she did with very little reluctance. 'I thought myself a match for her,' said he, 'and valourously took up the gauntlet. But such a virago never skinned an eel. My whole vocabulary made not the least impression. On the contrary, she was manifestly becoming more vigorous every moment, and I had nothing for it but to beat a retreat. This, however, was to be done with dignity; so, drawing myself up disdainfully, I said, 'Madam, I scorn all further discourse with such an *individual*.' She did not understand the word, and thought it, no doubt, the very hyperbole of opprobrium. 'Individual, you wagabone!' she screamed; 'what do you mean by that? I'm no more an individual than your mother was!' Never was victory more complete. The whole sisterhood did homage to me, and I left the quay of Cork covered with glory.'"—*Curran and his Cotemporaries*, by Charles Phillips, p. 462.

which nobody heard, except, perhaps, the Sheriff. O'Connell feared that in this underhand way, resolutions might be passed, or an address voted, to which the meeting would be, unwittingly, committed. He, therefore inquired whether any motion had been made or question proposed. The High Sheriff, at the suggestion of some person near him, asked O'Connell, if he was a freeholder of the county Dublin:—

O'Connell (speaking with great emphasis) "I am a freeholder of this county. I have a hereditary property, which, probably, may stand a comparison with the person who interrogates me; and I have a profession, which gives me an annual income greater than any of the personages who surround the chair are able to wring from the taxes." (Loud applause.)

The Sheriff then said that he was nominating a committee to prepare an address.

Lord Cloncurry strongly objected to this irregularity; 'the meeting,' he said, 'should nominate.' But the Sheriff proceeding, Lord Cloncurry again objected and said he would take the sense of the meeting. The Sheriff refused him the opportunity, and repeated Lord Frankfort's name. The 'noes,' were in an immense majority against it. The Sheriff however, declared him selected; and in this way did he persevere until he had named the committee, the members of which retired, and, in a very short time, returned with the address,—a document which, of course, had been previously prepared. Mr. Burne said he would propose an amended and *really* loyal address. The Sheriff refused to receive the amendment, and put the question on the original address. It was rejected by a

storm of "noes," which overwhelmed the "ayes" of the placemen and expectant placemen. The Sheriff then declared the meeting dissolved.

O'Connell maintained that the chairman, though he might abdicate the chair, could not dissolve the meeting, until they should have completed the business for which they were convened. He moved Lord Cloncurry to the chair. The Sheriff said he would oppose his lordship taking the chair. Lord Cloncurry—(who was greatly cheered) said:—"The freeholders of the county Dublin have done me the honor to call me to the chair, and I will certainly obey their commands." (Great cheering.) After some other observations the Sheriff threatened to commit Lord Cloncurry.—Mr. O'Connell—"Prepare your prison, then! If it be large enough to contain us all, we will all accompany him there. (Loud cheering for several minutes.) More freeholders will accompany him there, than were found to vote at the last election, nor will they regret the absence of their representatives, though they may have an opportunity of reminding them of that absence."

The Sheriff then, with great violence of tone and manner, declared that he would call in the military. (Much disapprobation.) Lord Cloncurry:—"*I will not withdraw.*! This is the freeholder's house—built with the freeholder's money. At their call I have taken the chair. I am a magistrate of this county; no man shall use illegal violence in my presence, unless he have a force superior to the law. In support of the law I am ready to perish in this chair, and nothing but force *shall tear* me from it." (Enthusiastic cheers.) The *Sheriff said* the meeting was an illegal meeting,

and that as such he would disperse it. Mr. O'Connell—"The meeting is a perfectly legal meeting. Let every freeholder who values his rights, remain, and if any man be prosecuted for remaining here, let me be that man; for I have advised and shall everywhere avow that I have advised, and counselled you to continue the meeting."

The Sheriff here withdrew.

The most perfect order and decorum still prevailed, and the court-house exhibited one of the most respectable and crowded meetings we have ever witnessed. Mr. Burne addressed the chair, but had not uttered many sentences, when a side-door was thrown open with a violent crash, and an officer and some soldiers rushed in. They commanded the freeholders, in the most peremptory manner, to withdraw. Some violence was offered to individuals, but certainly not much, as the privates conducted themselves with good temper, and the freeholders quietly dispersed. Lord Cloncurry kept his seat. Mr. Curran placed himself by his side. Two soldiers, bayonet in hand, ascended the bench, close to Mr. Curran, who, good humouredly, but firmly, put the weapons aside. The officer, standing on the table, ordered Lord Cloncurry to withdraw. Lord Cloncurry replied that he was a magistrate, presiding over a legal meeting of his majesty's subjects; that he would remain until the proceedings were regularly brought to a close, unless removed by actual force. The officer said he must use force, and drew, or was in the act of drawing his sword, and force *was* applied to Lord Cloncurry, before he left the chair.

The freeholders assembled in immense numbers on the opposite side of the road. A chair was

procured for Lord Cloncurry in the passage of a house, and the amended address was read by Mr. Burne, seconded by Mr. O'Connell. The following was its substance:—"That our dutiful attachment and allegiance deserve the greater consideration, inasmuch as those sentiments are not diminished by the multiplied distress and aggravated miseries of your faithful people of Ireland, since the measure of the Union. . . . . Deeply interested as we are in every event connected with the stability of the throne, we have felt inexpressible satisfaction at the termination of the late proceedings in the House of Lords, sincerely hoping that proceedings so dangerous and unconstitutional never will be revived in any shape."

The proceedings here alluded to were those instituted against Queen Caroline.

A committee was then appointed to lay before the Lord Lieutenant, the outrageous and illegal conduct of the sheriff on that day. An indignation meeting was held some days afterwards in the Corn Exchange rooms, on the same subject, and a committee appointed to consider the best method of demanding redress "for the outrage committed on the freeholders at Kilmainham." Eventually, of course, no redress whatever was obtained, but the agitation of the matter was not without its good effects.

Rumours of a royal visit to Ireland prevailed from an early period of 1821, which, in the July of that year, settled into a certainty. King George IV. resolved to honor by his presence that Isle of the West, on which no English monarch had ever set foot before, except with hostile intent. His visit *was to be a great* and auspicious event. The tears

of sorrow and suffering were to be dried for ever, the chains of the slave were to be broken; party watchwords were to be forgotten, and Orange and Green,

> —— Like the rainbow's light,
> Were to form in heaven's sight
> One arch of peace.

The King's motives for coming to Ireland can only be guessed at. The servants of the crown gave out, that it was his great love for this country that induced him to come; many who looked at the matter from a more independent standpoint, believed that it was his great unpopularity in England, consequent upon his persecution of the Queen, which influenced him to try to get up in Ireland, what might be called a counter demonstration. If this were his motive he was very successful, for his visit turned out to be a grand popular demonstration, as well as a splendid pageant. The business was extremely well managed by officials of tact and influence, and by that section of the press which wrote under government inspiration.

O'Connell gave another reason for the King's visit to Ireland. In a conversation he had with Mr. O'Neill Daunt, during the Repeal agitation, that gentleman asked him what his opinion of George the Fourth's appearance was:—"Was he, in your opinion," said Mr. Daunt, "a handsome, princely-looking fellow?" "When I saw him in 1794," replied O'Connell, "he was a remarkably handsome-faced man; his figure was faulty, narrow shoulders and enormous hips; yet altogether he was certainly a very fine-looking fellow. But when I saw him in Dublin in 1821, age and the results of dissipation

had made him a most hideous object; he had a flabby, tallow-coloured face; and his frame was quite debilitated. *He came to Ireland to humbug the Catholics, who, he thought, would take* sweet words instead of useful deeds. Ah! we were not to be humbugged."*

The Catholic body, miserably divided on the *Veto* for years, were now still further divided as to the proper course to be followed in addressing the King. O'Connell drew up a form of requisition for a Catholic meeting. In it the Catholics were invited, whilst preparing for the royal visit, to take occasion to look into the state of their affairs, and to determine what course it would be best and most prudent for them to pursue, in the

* "Personal Recollections of O'Connell," by W. J. O'N. Daunt, Esq. Vol. i., p. 131. In the same interesting book, and on the previous page, the following anecdote is given: "I have had," said O'Connell, "the honor of sustaining some royal abuse. William IV. scolded me in a royal speech; but George IV. had previously bestowed a most royal malediction on me. I attended the first levée after the Emancipation bill passed; the wretched King was suffering from an utterly broken constitution, and the presence-chamber was kept as thin as it was possible, to preserve him from inconvenient crowding. When I got into the midst of it, approaching the throne, I saw the lips of his majesty moving; and thinking it possible he might be speaking to me, I advanced, in order to make, if requisite, a suitable reply. He had ceased to speak—I kissed hands and passed on. In some days, I saw a mysterious paragraph in a Scotch newspaper, remarking on the strange mode in which an Irish subject had been received by his prince, who was stated to have vented a curse at him. I happened to meet the Duke of Norfolk, and asked him if he could explain the paragraph. 'Yes,' said he, '*you* are the person alluded to. The day you were at the levée, his majesty said, as you were approaching, '*there is O'Connell!*—'G—d damn the scoundrel!'"

then depressed and gloomy state of the Catholic cause.

Sir John Burke, Mr. Bagot, and other commoners published a protest against "connecting, in any manner, the general question of Catholic affairs with the object of voting a congratulatory address to his most gracious Majesty, on the auspicious event of his visiting this country." O'Connell at once gave up his view for the sake of preserving unanimity.

The Orange Corporation of Dublin made overtures of peace and amity to the Catholic body, and, to prove their sincerity, a promise was made that the equestrian statue of William III. should not be decorated with the usual orange insignia on the 1st of July; and the Lord Mayor published a proclamation to that effect. The promise was also given in a letter to Lord Fingal. Mr. Sheil said at a public meeting:—"A promise was held out, *a pledge was given.*" However, the idol in College-green was not only decorated on the 12th, but it was decorated with an unusual amount of Orange finery. This, however, was removed in the course of the day, by order of Aldermen Fleming and Gabbet. A Catholic meeting was immediately held on the subject. O'Connell, whilst he denounced the insult, recommended the formation of a committee to ascertain "what the entire substance was of the communication which had been made to Lord Fingal; and that the meeting should adjourn till Monday." This course was too mild to satisfy the angry and insulted feelings of the meeting, which feelings found adequate expression in a speech made by Mr. Sheil on the occasion. In opposing O'Connell's motion, he asked:—"For

what were the committee to adjourn? Was it with the hope of uniting with the Corporation? The late insult offered the Catholics in College-green was too broad and open to admit of such a thing." He ended with two resolutions. The first expressed satisfaction, on the part of the Catholics, with the offered co-operation of the Lord Mayor and Corporation, in receiving his Majesty, but also expressed disappointment that the promise of laying aside "offensive symbols of faction," on the happy occasion of his coming, was not complied with. The second resolution asserted there was a distinct engagement to this effect, and that the investing of the statue in College-green, with the usual party emblems, was a breach of that engagement.

These resolutions were carried.

The Lord Mayor and the city magistrates disclaimed all participation in the decoration of the statue of King William, and censured it; which might have been true enough, but they did not exercise the authority with which they were invested, to prevent it. Afterwards, the following resolution was unanimously passed at another Catholic meeting:—

"RESOLVED—That notwithstanding the unprovoked insult which has been offered to the public feeling, by the decoration of the statue in College-green, as a tribute of our homage to his Majesty, we shall avoid, by any remonstrance to government, an interruption of that harmony to which we are anxious to contribute."

This resolution, which was moved by Mr. Sheil

and seconded by O'Connell, was allowed to pass unanimously.

The King arrived in Ireland on the 12th of August, 1821, and left on the 3rd of September, after a visit of just three weeks, during which he received an amount of feteing, and loyal homage, and adulation, which he little deserved. He made many promises—gave many assurances; and they were so re-iterated, that people, at first sceptical, began to believe in them.* A curious passage in the memoirs of that representative Tory, Lord Chancellor Eldon, says—that the King at one moment *half believed himself that he was sincere*, to the great fright of Lord Eldon and his friends, who, thereupon, hastened the measures for his departure.†

* Poets,—solemn, bombastic, satirical, and humorous—published their lucubrations on the King's visit. The *Keen* (*caoine*), or Irish cry, for the departure of his Majesty was popular for several years. Here is a specimen:—

"Farewell, farewell, my best of Kings,
O, wirra sthru, O, wirra sthru;
That said ten thousand *handsome* things,
O, wirra sthru, O, wirra sthru.

. . . . . .

"It's you that wore the handsome wig,
O, wirra sthru, O, wirra sthru;
Frizzed *nately* round your face so big,
O, wirra sthru, O, wirra sthru;
It's you that let yourself be seen,
And hawked about through College-green
As much as Johnny hawked his queen,
O, wirra sthru, O, wirra sthru."

† The King visited the Curragh of Kildare on Friday, the 31st of August, where races were got up for his amusement. At twelve o'clock he arrived—the rain pouring down in

Before he left, by his command, Lord Sidmouth wrote the following letter to the Lord Lieutenant:

"My Lord—The time of the King's departure from Ireland being arrived, I am commanded by his Majesty to express his entire approbation of the manner in which all persons, acting in the civil and military situations in the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood, have performed their several duties during the period of his Majesty's residence in this part of the Kingdom. His Majesty is pleased to consider, that to your Excellency his acknowledgments are particularly due. He is conscious of how much he owes to your Excellency's attentions and arrangements; and his Majesty gladly avails himself of this occasion of declaring

torrents. "About this time," says the faithful and minute historian of the Royal movements, "his Majesty was a little fatigued, and asked for a cup of tea." But what the author does not relate, because he did not know it, is, that the fatigued and sated monarch had the greatest difficulty in getting a cup of tea! All that the science of the most accomplished cooks and confectioners could supply; the rarest and most precious vintages which could be found in the cellars of the wine merchant, were sent to the Curragh for the Royal *dejeuner*. Dry tea the purveyors had in abundance; cream was at hand—sugar? hogsheads of it; even boiling water could be extemporized, but *a cup and saucer*, in which to serve his tea to the King of England, was not to be found in the caravan of supplies. What was to be done? Fleet messengers were despatched in all directions, one of whom luckily found a blue two-penny cup and saucer in a poor woman's cabin, in which, when scoured and polished up, they gave the King his tea!

The purveyors were the late Alderman Morrison and Mr. Edward Hayes, both of Dawson-street. The Alderman gave the poor woman a guinea for the cup and saucer, and *retained it as a* precious relic. This anecdote I had from *Mr. Hayes's son.*

the high sense which he entertains of the ability, temper, and firmness with which your Excellency has uniformly administered the great trust which he has placed in your hands. I am further commanded to state, that the testimonies of dutiful and affectionate attachment which his Majesty has received from all classes and descriptions of his Irish subjects, have made the deepest impression on his mind; and that he looks forward to the period when he shall re-visit them, with the strongest feelings of satisfaction. His Majesty trusts that, in the meantime, not only the spirit of loyal union—which now so generally prevails—will remain unabated and unimpaired; *but that every cause of irritation will be avoided and discountenanced;* mutual forbearance and goodwill observed and encouraged, and a security be thus afforded for the continuance of that concord amongst themselves, which is not less essential to his Majesty's happiness than to their own, and which it has been the chief object of his Majesty, during his residence in this country, to cherish and promote. His Majesty well knows the generosity and warmth of heart which distinguishes the character of his faithful people of Ireland; and he leaves them with a heart full of affection towards them, and with a confident and gratifying persuasion, that *the parting admonition and injunction of their Sovereign will not be given in vain.*—I have the honor to be, with great truth and regard, my lord, your Excellency's most obedient and most faithful servant,

"SIDMOUTH."

And this from the man who, in 1829, accepted the resignation of his two great ministers—the

Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—rather than agree to the emancipation of his Irish Catholic subjects, *which resignation he retained in his hands as long as he could.* He was at length necessitated to write to the Duke and say, that he "anticipated so much difficulty in the attempt to form an administration, that he could not dispense with their services."*

The Dublin Corporation and the Irish Orangemen read Lord Sidmouth's letter by the proper light, and with lenses of the true colour; and so snapped their fingers at it. But lest there should be any mistake at all about the hollowness and hypocrisy of this letter, the Lord Lieutenant (Earl Talbot) drank *the Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory* at Alderman James's inauguration dinner three weeks after the King's departure from Ireland.

"The Orange party," says John O'Connell, "who had signalised themselves by not refraining from their *Shibboleth* of the '*Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory,*' even at the Corporation dinner to the King (though, of course, not proposed till after he had left the room) laughed in their sleeves at this letter. The Catholics took it in earnest, and set about preparing to meet it in what they deemed a corresponding spirit."†

O'Connell has been censured for his conduct during George the Fourth's visit to Ireland—for his conduct towards the King—for his conduct towards the Orange-Tory party. He, undoubtedly,

* "Memoirs of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel," published by the Trustees of his papers. Vol. i., p. 349.

† "Memoir and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., *M.P.*," *by his Son.* Vol. ii., p. 333.

seems to have made up to that party very gushingly, previous to and during the King's visit; but it must be borne in mind that he was always an enthusiastic advocate for union among Irishmen, and that he, moreover, believed that attempts to promote union were attended with benefit, and that even the semblance of union was useful. The King's visit offered a most happy opportunity for promoting this union, and he, by his conduct, placed himself on this firm logical ground—that if the attempt to effect a patriotic union amongst his countrymen failed, that failure could, by no possibility, be attributed to him.

As to his conduct towards the King, the following attack and defence will explain it sufficiently.

There was an article published in the *Courier* newspaper, headed "O'Connell's Inconsistencies," in which the writer, speaking of George the Fourth's visit to Ireland, says:—"On that occasion, when his Majesty's expedition to Ireland was accompanied with very little English popularity, in consequence of the recent trial of Queen Caroline, Mr. O'Connell's conduct excited something more than surprise, even amongst his warmest admirers. He procured a meeting to be held at the Exchange; proposed a palace should be built for George IV.; promised that a million should be raised for that purpose; pledged himself to give one thousand pounds a year, from his own income, towards that object; escorted his Majesty to Kingstown; followed him (literally) into the sea, in order to present him with a crown of laurel; knelt in the water; forgot his promises; never dreamed of the palace; and, not long after the

Royal departure, inveighed against his Majesty in language which we cannot venture to transcribe."

Taking up each of these statements, O'Connell thus replied :—

"'*He procured a meeting to be held at the Exchange.*'—Quite untrue. The meeting was held at the nomination of the Lord Mayor. It was *procured* by a requisition, signed by nearly thirty noblemen and Protestant bishops. The Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Enniskillen, Lord Farnham, Dr. Trench, the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, &c., were the leading requisitionists. My name was, as it ought to be, low, very low down in the requisition. It is, therefore, as much at variance with the truth as anything can be to say that I procured that meeting.

"'*He proposed a palace should be built for George IV.*'—Quite untrue. The proposal respecting the palace was moved by Lord Carbery, seconded by Colonel Cuffe. There were three plans for a national testimonial submitted to the meeting. The one was for a column, the second a palace, the third a bridge. I supported the second during the debate; but it is not true that the proposal was mine. It was, as I have said, proposed by Lord Carbery—with whom I am very slightly acquainted—seconded by Colonel Cuffe, a gentleman, I believe, I never saw before that day or since, and never spoke to in my life. See, then, how false it is to make me the *procurer* of the meeting, and the *proposer* of the palace.

"'*He promised that a million should be raised for this purpose.*'—Again, a pure invention. I never made any such promise.

"'*He pledged himself to give one thousand pounds a year, from his own income, for that purpose.*'—Totally untrue. I did, indeed, make a pledge to give an annual sum out of my income, but it was an annual sum of twenty guineas—£22 15s. of the then Irish currency—and no more! The vile accuser turns twenty guineas a year into only £1,000 a year!—that is all.

"'*He escorted his Majesty to Kingstown.*'—Quite untrue. I did not escort his Majesty at all that day. He was, in the morning, in the county Wicklow. I rode with some gentlemen to Kingstown, and there remained until the King's arrival. I did not see him at all until the arrival at Kingstown.

"'*He followed him (literally) into the sea, in order to present him with a laurel crown.*'—This is so circumstantially false, that it must be called, literally, a lie. I did not follow the King at all; nor did I go nearer the water, when presenting the laurel crown, than about twenty paces.

"'*He knelt in the water.*'—Totally untrue. I presented the crown to the King in a tent, the nearest part of which to the water was at least twenty paces from the water's edge. I presented it at the end of the tent farthest from the water, in as dry a place as ever king stood upon. I, of course, knelt on one knee in presenting the crown; but so far is it from being true, that I was guilty of any unbecoming servility, that I did not even kiss the hand which the King held out to me for that purpose.

"'*He forgot his promises.*'—Quite untrue. I made no promises, save that of paying twenty guineas a year as my mite towards building a

palace; and so far was I from forgetting that promise, that I was one of the *very, very* few who attended the committee, *after the King's departure.* There were plenty to attend whilst he was here; but the moment he was gone, there was no getting the subscribers to meet—there was no getting those who put down their names to pay their subscriptions. Nay, I persevered until *after* all hope was extinct; nor did I abandon the plan of a palace until we found it impossible to procure from one of the then judges the sum of thirty guineas, which he had affixed to his name while the King was here.

I then, and not till then, gave up the palace in despair, and left the bridge-builders to complete their plan; having first paid in my own subscription. The bridge has since been built. There is, therefore, nothing more untrue than the assertion that I forgot any promise of mine, or declined to fulfil it.

"'*He, not long after the Royal departure, inveighed against his Majesty, in language which we cannot venture to transcribe.*'—This, indeed, would establish me guilty of an inconsistency; but it does no such thing. Why? because it is totally false. On the contrary, the fact is, that I was reproached for years, and years after the King's departure from Ireland, with being in the habit of speaking too favorably of the King. I was taunted with my complacency, not only in prose, but even 'immortal verse.' But the fact is, before Emancipation, abuse of George IV. would have been such bad policy, that the enemies of religious liberty would gladly *avail themselves* of any such abuse, to render the *King more desperate* in his opposition."

CHAPTER IV.

The Marquis of Wellesley comes to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant—O'Connell addresses a letter to him on the decoration of King William's Statue on the 12th of July—Bar anecdotes of O'Connell—He refuses a Fee! —The *Bottle* Conspiracy—Origin of the Catholic Association—The Catholic Rent—The "Second Reformation" — O'Connell a Controversialist — His "Bolivar" Speech—Prosecuted by Government—Sir Harcourt Lees.

Earl Talbot, who had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1817, was recalled towards the close of 1821, and on the 21st of December, of that year, the Marquis of Wellesley succeeded him. The Catholic body held a meeting in January, 1822, and voted him an address of congratulation and welcome, which was drawn up by Mr. Sheil and presented to him at his first levée. It was most graciously received, although no answer was given to it, it being contrary to etiquette to return a formal reply to an address presented at a levée.

The general question of Catholic Emancipation was not brought before Parliament in 1822, as Mr. Plunket, who had then the management of it, thought the time inopportune; but Mr. Canning introduced a bill asking the very small favour of admitting Catholic peers to the House of Lords. This bill was passed in the House of Commons by a majority of twelve, and defeated in the Lords by a majority of FORTY-TWO! The Catholic body were indignant; O'Connell was more than ever

convinced that an organization on a broader basis, and therefore more powerful than had as yet existed in Ireland, was absolutely necessary to wrest from the fears of England and of English statesmen, those civil rights which it was now evident they would never concede through a sense of justice. O'Connell had made up his mind as to the nature of this organization—it was, to cause the priests of Ireland to take an active part in Catholic politics. Up to this they had not done so. After the defeat of Canning's bill, a meeting of the Catholic Committee was called, at which a long and warm discussion took place respecting various plans of action, and after an opposition of a vexatious kind to O'Connell's views, he rose and said in an impassioned tone:—"Gentlemen, we have a power that has never yet been called into the field, one that must coerce them to do us justice, and that power is the Priesthood of Ireland. In combining them with us, we bring to our aid learning, virtue, and influence, not belonging to any other class.—Without them we cannot succeed. To succeed we MUST have them with us, and from this day forward." There was a majority against this proposal, and it was combatted with the most persevering opposition, but O'Connell was immovable, and at last succeeded. "The clergy," says Fagan, "were brought into the agitation, with what result it would be superfluous to say."*

Had Lord Talbot continued Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Catholics could not have expected him to prevent Orange party display in College-Green, on the 12th of July, as he was one of the first to

* "*Life and Times* of Daniel O'Connell." Vol. i., p. 284.

violate the spirit of Lord Sidmouth's letter, by drinking the *Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory*, at the Lord Mayor's banquet; but Lord Wellesley came with other views, and it was hoped that insulting party displays would find no favour at his hands. The Catholics looked forward, with deep interest, to the 12th of July, 1822, as the day that would test his principles.

Some days before that blood-stained anniversary, it was observed that painters were quietly and unobtrusively engaged in touching up the statue in College-Green with the usual "orange and blue." On the 10th the *Freeman's Journal* called attention to the fact, and then continued in the following words:—"Neither the government nor the police magistrates can be ignorant of what is passing before their eyes, in broad day and in the open street; but lest, possibly, they should not have observed what is notorious to every one else, we *here* apprise them of it, and we call upon them now, while there is yet ample time for the purpose, to protect the city of Dublin from a repetition of those outrages which have too long disgraced it." On the 11th, O'Connell addressed a letter to the Lord Lieutenant on the subject, which was thrown off in his best vein. The following are extracts:—

"My Lord—To-morrow will finally decide the character of your administration. The oppressed and neglected Catholics of Ireland had fondly hoped, that they might have obtained from a *friend*, placed in the exalted situation which your Excellency occupies, are commendation in favour of their claims. You *took* an early opportunity to crush that hope for ever. In your reply to the address of the Catholics of the county Clare, you

told the Irish people, that you came here to '*administer the laws, not to alter them.*' . . . . Your Excellency came *to administer the laws.* My Lord, I most respectfully, but, at the same time, most firmly, call upon you to *administer them.* The exhibition intended (it is said) for to-morrow, is plainly a violation of the law. . . . I pledge myself to prove, before any court, or to any impartial jury, that the usual annual exhibition, on the 12th of July, is illegal. I make this pledge under no small risk. I have certainly as large, probably a larger professional income, than any man in a stuff gown ever had at the Irish bar—an income depending mainly upon the public notion, that I understand something of my profession. I could not afford to forfeit that public confidence; and yet I freely consent to forfeit it all, unless I am able to demonstrate to any judicial tribunal, *that the annual exhibitions of the 12th of July are illegal.* . . . As you cannot alter, I again respectfully, dutifully, but firmly, call upon you to *administer the law,* and to suppress an illegal and insulting nuisance. . . My Lord, the Catholics forgot injuries, and what is infinitely more difficult, forgave insults, to effect a reconciliation with their Protestant fellow subjects; and in no one instance have the Catholics, since the King's visit, violated, *in deed or even in word,* the spirit of that amicable concord which they then sought, and believed they had attained. . . . But, alas! how speedily, how completely, how entirely has it been violated upon the other side. On the other side, those men who were loudest in proclaiming *sentiments* of amity—what has been their conduct *since?* But I will not dwell upon this painful *subject; I will* only say, that the Catholics deserve

and require protection from insult and injury. Will you, my lord, refuse them that protection?"

Then, true to his belief in the value of repetition, O'Connell thus closes his letter exactly as he began it:—"To-morrow decides the character of your Excellency's administration in Ireland."

The government did not interfere, and the statue was dressed in the usual manner, on the 12th. The ceremony was performed very early in the morning, about 4 o'clock, and in the presence of several policemen, who made no attempt to prevent it. In the evening some of the "indignant spectators" mounted the pedestal with the intention of undressing the statue. The horse patrol and police prevented them, dispersed, and subsequently *charged* the people.*

The bar anecdotes of O'Connell, illustrative of his wonderful ability and tact as a cross-examiner, are very numerous. His Son, in his biography of him, relates one which occurred in the summer of this year. In one of the assize towns of the Munster circuit, he was offered a retainer, from the solicitor of a man accused of having plundered some plantations, belonging to a rich proprietor of the neighbourhood. The evidence against his client was expected to be of the clearest kind, being that of no less than three servants of the injured party—the gamekeeper, the butler, and a labourer, who had, all three assisted in capturing the offender, in the very act of committing the depredation. In face of such evidence O'Connell sent back the retaining fee, advising that it should be applied to something more useful than in engaging counsel,

* Freeman's Journal, 13th July, 1822.

who could not give value for it. The solicitor accosted O'Connell in court next day, and in the most angry manner insisted that he had no right to refuse the fee. "Oh," said O'Connell, "there is no necessity in your being in a passion about the matter, if you insist on my taking a fee for which, I tell you, I cannot give you value, have your way, I *will* take the matter up."

The case was called. "Get two of the witnesses out of court, Mr. O'Connell," whispered the attorney, "while one is under examination." "No, no," replied O'Connell; "they shall all remain in—it is our only chance, as you shall see." The butler was the first witness. He was full of his story, and anxious to make himself the great man in the business. O'Connell encouraged his volubility, and then, by a few pointed questions, involved him in a mass of inconsistencies and contradictions. The labourer was the next witness. Although vexed with the butler for taking too much credit to himself in the affair, still, being anxious for the success of the prosecution, he endeavoured to support him, and explain away his inconsistencies, but he only made the matter worse, and got even more *bothered* than the butler. The gamekeeper came last; and he, like the labourer, instead of adhering to his own simple narrative of facts, endeavoured to reconcile the conflicting testimony of the other two. It was now perfectly clear why O'Connell kept all the witnesses in court. He so badgered the gamekeeper that the following colloquy occurred between them:—

"*Now, will* you answer me one question more, *and then, perhaps,* I'll have done with you."

"Oh, if it's only one question more, and you'll let me go then, I'll answer it *any way you like.*"

"Very well; now remember you said so. Now, by virtue of your oath, *isn't the prisoner innocent?*"

"*By virtue of my oath, he is.*"

The prisoner was, of course, acquitted, and O'Connell left the court amused as well as triumphant.

O'Connell's dexterity is admirably shown in the following anecdote. He was employed in defending a prisoner who was tried for a murder committed in the vicinity of Cork. The principal witness swore strongly against the prisoner. One corroborative circumstance was, that the prisoner's hat was found near the place where the murder was committed. The witness swore positively that the hat produced was the one found, and that it belonged to the prisoner, whose name was James. "By virtue of your oath, are you positive that this is the same hat?" "Yes." "Did you examine it carefully before you swore in your informations that it was the prisoner's?" "Yes." "Now, let me see," said O'Connell; and he took up the hat and began to examine the inside of it with the greatest care and deliberation. He then spelled aloud the name JAMES slowly, thus:—"J-A-M-E-S. Now, do you mean those words were in the hat when you found it?" "I do." "Did you see them there?" "I did." "This is the same hat?" "It is." "Now, my lord," said O'Connell, holding up the hat to the bench, "there is an end to the case—there is no name whatever inscribed in the hat." The result was instant acquittal.

The outrage chronicled in the annals of Dublin

as "the *bottle-throwing* conspiracy," was a very prominent event in Lord Wellesley's first Irish Viceroyalty. He was a man who had no wish to give any very decided opposition to the Orange party, but, as he refused to be entirely in their hands, he was far from being popular with them. He did not interfere with the decoration of the statue of William III. on the 12th of July, 1822, which was the first anniversary of the Boyne after his arrival in Ireland, notwithstanding the urgent appeals made to him to do so; but, as he showed a disposition to extend some little justice and fair play to the Catholics, his unpopularity with the Orangemen daily increased. It rose to indignation when, on the 1st of November of the same year, a proclamation from the Lord Mayor (Alderman John Smith Fleming) forbade the statue to be decorated for the 5th of that month. They knew it was Lord Wellesley's proclamation far more than the Lord Mayor's.

In defiance of this proclamation, two painters, escorted by a number of Orangemen, went to paint, or rather to complete the painting of the statue on the 4th. They were arrested and conveyed to College-street Police Station. Counsellor Greaves, one of the magistrates of the Head Office, went to College-green and ordered the police not to allow any person to ascend the pedestal of the statue; after which no further attempt was made to proceed with the painting. Upon this a meeting of the Common Councilmen of the Dublin Corporation was called by an anonymous circular, forty-nine of whom obeyed the summons. They were then a body distinct from *the Aldermen*, and met in a separate chamber.

It was proposed at the meeting to pass a vote of censure on the Lord Mayor for his proclamation. Two members of the Council left, considering the assemblage was not legal. Forty-seven voted on the question, of whom forty-five were for and two against the vote of censure.

On Saturday, the 14th, nine days after the hero of the Boyne was obliged to appear, for the first time, in dishabille, on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, the Lord Lieutenant went to the theatre in state. The house was a very crowded one, from which, on his entrance, he received what might be called an ovation. "God save the King" was called for before the play began. It was given by the orchestre, and the entire audience joined in it, except a knot of persons who kept together in a particular part of the house. These were the Orangemen who had come to insult his Excellency. The play was Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer;* and when old *Hardcastle* and *Tony Lumpkin* appeared on the stage with their tankards of ale, the Orangemen called upon them to drink the *Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory.* No heed was paid to this call. "A quart glass bottle was thrown from the gallery, which fell upon the stage close to the footlights. It was taken up by Mr. Barton, leader of the orchestre, and exhibited to the house amid much excitement. *Patrick's Day* was played, but many bars had not been got through when a large wedge of timber, which formed the heavy part of a watchman's rattle, *was aimed at the Lord Lieutenant's box;* glancing off at the left-hand corner, it fell upon the stage. Great confusion prevailed for a considerable time.

Ultimately the military were brought in, and five persons were arrested."*

Public meetings were immediately held in various parts of the country at which addresses were passed to the Lord Lieutenant, congratulating him on his escape, and expressing loyal devotion to him as the representative of his Majesty. Five or six days after the occurrence, what was termed a meeting of "persons of all parties" was held in the Royal Exchange, the Lord Mayor (Fleming) being in the chair. O'Connell spoke, and his speech was well adapted to the occasion. It was prudent, loyal, and conciliatory. Here is a specimen:—

"As to the event which has occurred, and which we have assembled to deprecate, I am satisfied that only one feeling of indignation, of sorrow, and of shame can pervade the mind of every man in the country. It was an outrage without parallel in any former instance of wanton, unprovoked insult. If the accused be innocent, their acquittal will clear their characters from the foulness of the imputed guilt; if guilty, impartial justice will

* See *Freeman's Journal* of 16th November, 1822.

Scraps of paper with offensive party mottoes upon them were flung from time to time from the gallery. They were, of course, the usual ones of *No Popery; the Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory; Protestant Ascendancy*, &c. The following doggrel was also on some of the papers:—

"The Protestants want Talbot;
The papists have got all but!!!
And Fleming, though he has the mace,
May find it hard to keep his place."

avenge the laws which they have outraged. To that law I am anxious they should be submitted; and sure I am, that whether innocent or guilty, I may be pardoned the vanity I take in my profession, in the assurance I give, that they will be dealt with fairly, uprightly, and impartially."

The offenders in this conspiracy—two carpenters named Handwich, and a shoemaker named Graham—were capitally committed; but a Dublin grand jury of "*the right sort*," ignored the bills. This proceeding forced the Attorney-General (Plunket) to file an *ex-officio* information, which was a very extreme measure, and somewhat unconstitutional—it was putting the prisoners on their trial in spite of the grand jury. However, no jury could be had which would bring in a verdict of "guilty," and the prosecution ended in nothing.*

The first feeble attempt at organization which the enslaved and persecuted Irish Catholics made was in the year 1760, the Duke of Bedford being Lord Lieutenant. In that year seven gentlemen held a meeting at the Elephant Tavern in Essex-street, amongst whom were Mr. Charles O'Connor, of Ballinagar; Dr. Curry, author of the *Civil Wars;* and Mr. Wyse, of Waterford. Mr. Wyse submitted a plan for the formation of "A Roman Catholic Committee, in order to be able to conduct the political concerns of the body with more order and effect." The plan was based on delegation from the dioceses of Ireland and the parishes of the city of Dublin; one representative to be chosen by

* *Ex-officio: by reason of an office or duty.* An *ex-officio* information is an information at the suit of the King, filed by the Attorney General, without applying to a court for leave.

ballot at a meeting of the principal inhabitants of each parish; and in each county, by a majority of the parish priests, as well as of the towns and cities, and each nomination and appointment of a lay representative to be signed, not only by the said clergy, but also by the principal inhabitants of the diocese, and the several elections to be made *with as much secrecy as possible.* The Chairman of the said committee, with an assistant was to be constantly resident in Dublin.*

This, in a general way, was the model of Catholic Boards, and Catholic Committees for a long period afterwards, and to put an end to which Lord Clare's Convention Act was passed in 1793. This Act crippled enormously the efforts of the Catholics in their endeavour to effect the repeal of what remained of the penal code after the concessions of 1793. It was by virtue of this Act the Irish Secretary, Mr. Wellesley Pole, issued his circular of the 12th of February, 1811, under which Dr. Sheridan and other gentlemen were arrested and tried.†

For years, the essential requirement of the

*Plowden's Historical Review of the State of Ireland. Appendix, No. LXII, where the document will be found in full.

†The Circular begins thus:—"It being reported that the Roman Catholics or some part of them, in the county of ——— are to be called together or have been called together, to nominate or appoint persons as Representatives, Delegates, or Managers, to act on their behalf as members of an unlawful assembly, sitting in Dublin, and calling itself the Catholic Committee, you are required, in pursuance of the provisions of an Act of the Thirty-third of the King, Chap. 29, to cause to be arrested, and to commit to prison (unless bail shall be given) all persons within your jurisdiction, who shall be guilty &c. &c., —*State of the Catholic Cause*, p. 2.

Catholics of Ireland was an organization which would embrace the whole nation; and which would be permanent, and legal in spite of the Convention Act. There was but one man in the country capable of devising such an organization, that man was O'Connell. Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wyse, who was not a too enthusiastic admirer of his, thus speaks of his fitness for the task :—

"To conceive such a plan, and still more to reduce it from theory into practice, required a mind of very peculiar temperament. It required the ardour of youth, and the sagacity of age; a nature which could delight in obstacle, which could draw strength from opposition, which could triumph over time, and defy delay. It required a man who, feared if not respected by the aristocracy, applauded by the citizens, should be idolised by the people; a man who could touch with the spell most congenial to each, all those adverse and oftentimes conflicting natures. It required the audacious disdain of secondary considerations, the adventurous spirit of a fanatic, the intrepidity of a successful commander, the deep insight into his materials and resources, of an experienced general. It required a man who, could view Irish interests through Ireland, who, essentially Irish himself, knew where the national heart really lay, and could bend or drive it to every purpose; a man, the reflection of the men on whom he had to act: the representative of their feelings, the organ of their desires, the speaker of their passions, and the reckless flatterer, at times, of their prejudices, with an eloquence not of the schools only, but of the fields, not for one class, but for all, —a man doing what he recommended, and completing in the tedious details of the committee,

what he had impetuously and often imperiously carried in the debate. Such a man, happily for the freedom and safety of the country, existed; he had the fortune to conceive, and the resolution to execute:—The Catholic Association rose before him."*

The origin of the great "Catholic Association," which carried Emancipation, is, like many other great projects, clouded with somewhat of mystery. One account says, that O'Connell and Sheil, who had been somewhat estranged because they held opposite views on the *Veto*, met by accident at the house of a mutual friend, the well known Mr. T. O'Mara, in the county Wicklow, in the beginning of 1823; and that there, deploring the torpid state of the Catholic body, they agreed to a circular which they printed, and to which they affixed their names. This circular was intended to stir up the Catholics to action. It was sent to all those who had been in the habit of taking a public part in Catholic affairs; but received little or no attention.

Mr. John O'Connell's account of the matter is different. He says:—

"A story has appeared in some recent publications touching on events of the popular agitation in Ireland, which we are bound here to notice, in order to correct a mistake. It has been stated that the first idea of a Catholic Association arose in a conversation between O'Connell and Sheil, in the house of a mutual friend, in the county Wicklow, in the spring of 1823. The idea, however, had originated long before the rencontre in question, and originated in Mr. O'Connell's mind. He had been

*Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association. By Thomas Wyse, Esq, Jun. Vol. i. p. 197.

for some time revolving it, and maturing it in his thoughts, ere that event; and the story had its rise from the simple circumstance of his having first mentioned his plan of a popular association, at a dinner party at Glencullen, the seat of C. Fitzsimon, Esq., the then residence of the late well known and respected T. O'Mara Esq., where Mr. Sheil was also present. Mr. O'Connell then stated that his plan contemplated two classes of members, the one paying a pound, the other one shilling a year—the working committee of the body to be chosen from the former class. . . . . Mr. Sheil expressed doubts; he feared the plan would not work, and that the time was not very suitable for such an effort as the getting up a new association. Mr. O'Connell said he considered the time come, and that the plan would work—that, in fact, he would *make* it work."*

Mr. Torrens M'Cullagh's account of the founding of the Catholic Association is substantially the same as John O'Connell's. He begins it by quoting the following passage from a speech of Sheil's, in 1827:—"The country was then (1823) in a state of comparative repose, but it was a degrading and unwholesome tranquillity. We sat down like galley-slaves in a calm. A general stagnation diffused itself over the national feelings. The public pulse had stopped; the circulation of all generous sentiment had been arrested, and (if I may use the expression) the country was palsied to the heart. What was the result? It was twofold. The question receded in England, and fell back from the general

*"Memoirs and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P." By his Son. Vol. ii. p. 408.

notice. There it was utterly forgotten, while in Ireland the spirit and energy of the people underwent an utter relaxation, and the most vigorous efforts were necessary to repair all the moral deterioration which the whole body of the Irish Catholics had sustained."*

"But how was this to be done?" Asks Mr. M'Cullagh. "Various schemes of popular organization had been revolved, from time to time, in the fertile brain of O'Connell; but that which eventually commended itself above all others to his judgment was one which, while it reserved to persons of better education a controlling power, provided for the enrolment of the masses of the people as associate members of the body, the former, on payment of one guinea, and the latter on payment of one shilling a year. *This plan was first suggested by him* in conversation with a few intimate friends, of whom Mr. Sheil was one, at Glencullen, which was then the residence of Mr. T. O'Mara. The difficulties which it was felt must be encountered were freely canvassed, and it was agreed that the more comprehensive and democratic portion of the scheme should not at the outset be attempted. But the absolute necessity of some means of combination had become generally felt, by all who were not content to relinquish the hope of civil equality. What continuous and systematic political agitation really meant, or might practically accomplish, nobody then knew." †

From these authorities it is evident, that O'Con-

*"Memoirs of Richard Lalor Sheil." By Mr. Torrens M'Cullagh, Vol. i. p. 184.
†*Ibid. p. 185.*

nell was the AUTHOR AND FOUNDER of that wonderful organization called the "IRISH CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION," which struck the chains off seven millions of people, the sixth year after it was called into existence.

What was called the first meeting of the Catholic Association was held on Monday, the 12th of May, 1823, at Dempsey's rooms in Sackville street; but it could be hardly regarded as a *meeting of the Association*, inasmuch as it was a meeting called for the purpose of forming the Association. Lord Killeen was in the chair. After some preliminary business had been disposed of, Mr. O'Connell proposed that an Association should then be formed, of such gentlemen as wished voluntarily to come forward, for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the Irish Catholics, relative to their political disabilities, and the means of having their grievances brought before parliament; and that the qualification necessary for becoming a member should be the annual subcription of one guinea.

He did not deem it prudent, on this occasion, to bring forward his plan with regard to the *associated members*.

The names of the gentlemen who wished to become subscribers to, and members of the Association, were then taken down by Mr. O'Connell, who acted as treasurer for the time-being. The names amounted to FORTY-SEVEN.

It was then proposed and carried, that the future meetings of the new Association should thenceforward be held at Coyne's, the Catholic bookseller, No. 4. Capel street.

A "Committee of regulation" was appointed to prepare rules for their future guidance. They kept

clear of the Convention Act, by making it a rule "that the Association would not exercise or accept of any delegated authority or quality whatsoever."

Another rule, which by the way encountered considerable opposition, evinces O'Connell's wonderful prudence and foresight. It was:—"That no Catholic be permitted as a spectator of the proceedings at the meetings of the Association, unless he become a subscriber. *That persons of every other religious persuasion* shall have permission to be present during the proceedings, but not to vote or speak upon any question, unless he be a subscriber."

Many gentlemen present thought the Catholics had as good and even a better right to be present at their proceedings than those of other religions. Mr. O'Connnell *objected* to this compliment to Catholics, who would, he considered, be unworthy of it if they did not take *a guinea's worth of interest* in the Catholic cause. This view was finally carried.

Other rules were speedily prepared and adopted which were substantially the ground work of every Association afterwards founded by O'Connell.

The Catholic Association made steady progress. O'Connell was the life and soul of it—nay, *he* was the Association. He took up practical questions, discussed them, and brought forward motions and resolutions concerning them. He took up the land laws and the grievances of tenants; tithes; church rates; the rights of sepulture. This manner of dealing with the "Catholic cause" excited an interest in the minds of the people, even beyond his own expectations. Whilst he made war on their enemies *he* did not spare the Catholics themselves. In *one of the meetings* of the Association during the

year 1823, he denounced their careless and spiritless conduct, in not vindicating and insisting upon such rights as they already possessed; in particular, he impressed upon the Catholics of Dublin that their supineness was inexcusable, in neglecting to preserve the rights to which the laws entitled them. By a culpable passiveness, he said, they sacrificed their own and their brethren's privileges to the freedom of the city of Dublin, to which they were eligible for the last thirty years. "Some few years since," continued Mr. O'Connell, "I undertook, at my own expense, to obtain for a man named Cole, the civic rights to which he was entitled, as having served his time to a *freeman*, but when he had gone through all the forms, and completely succeeded, the poor man died; and the *Hibernian Journal* announced the event by stating, that GOD *had miraculously* saved the CORPORATION FROM THE CONTAMINATION of a PAPIST!"

On the 12th of July the Association adjourned to the 1st of November, and O'Connell took advantage of the long vacation to visit his family, then residing in France.

The year 1824 must always remain a memorable one in the annals of Catholic agitation: it was in that year O'Connell established the CATHOLIC RENT.

"The time was now come," says his son, "when Mr. O'Connell thought advisable to bring forward his long-meditated plan of small subscriptions. Among those to whom he had yet mentioned it were very few to encourage, and several to condemn it, as a trifling and certainly unsuccessful experiment. So wild and chimerical did it appear, that pains were actually

taken to prevent his having an opportunity of bringing it before the Association. There was a rule of the Association, that if ten members of the body were not in attendance by half-past three o'clock (the hour of meeting being three, p.m.) an adjournment should inevitably take place. It will create wonder in the minds of some of our readers, and a smile in others, to read, that with every exertion he could possibly make, Mr. O'Connell *failed* on several successive days to obtain the required quorum, small as that was. *Promises* of attendance he *did* get, in much more than sufficient number; but promises not kept, or redeemed half-an-hour too late. Four, five, or six might be in the room when the fatal half-hour would arrive; and punctually at that moment, Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, the then secretary, would hold up his watch, which he had taken care to leave out for the preceding ten minutes, and say:—

"'Gentlemen, it is half-past three o'clock, and ten members not present; we must adjourn!' And adjourn they accordingly did.

"At last, upon Wednesday, the 4th of February, 1824, the spell was broken. At twenty-three minutes past three, on that afternoon, there were but seven persons present, including Mr. O'Connell himself and the *inexorable* Purcell! the latter, as usual, watch in hand, not in the least moved by the anxiety so plainly depicted in Mr. O'Connell's face. Another minute and Mr. O'Connell could remain in the room no longer. He ran down towards Coyne's shop, downstairs, in the faint hope of finding somebody. On the stairs the *eighth man passed* him going up. In the shop itself were *fortunately two* young Maynooth priests, making

some purchases.* The rules of the Association admitting all clergymen as honorary members, without special motion, he eagerly addressed and implored them to come up but for one moment, and help to make the required quorum. At first they refused, there being a good deal of hesitation generally on the part of the clergy, to put themselves at all forward in politics; and these young men in particular, having all the timidity of their secluded education about them. But there was no withstanding him; partly, by still more earnest solicitations, and partly by actual *pushing*, he got them towards the staircase, and upon it, and finally into the meeting-room, exactly a second or two before the half-hour, and so stopped Mr. O'Gorman's mouth.

"The required number being thus made up, the chair was taken by William Coppinger, Esq., of Cork, the business entered upon and Mr. O'Connell was enabled to unfold his plan. The two priests, who had so reluctantly, and almost unconsciously done such good duty, shrunk away timidly a few moments afterwards, but as there was no '*counting of the house*' in the Association's code of laws, their presence was no longer necessary."†

The motion for establishing the Catholic Rent was carried. O'Connell went into a calculation to show what its results would be. This calculation was based on population. Although the Rent never reached the sum calculated, it became ample enough to make the Catholic Association perfectly indepen-

*Or, as some of the versions of the story have it, *two Maynooth students.*

† "Memoirs and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M. P." By his Son. Vol. ii. p. 477.

dant in the management of Catholic affairs. After a time, it frightened the Protestants, who began to think that it was really meant to buy arms for the Catholics; and I well remember a Protestant lady, who sent a pound as Catholic Rent to the Association, expressing in her letter a hope, that the Rent was not intended "*for powder and ball.*" This letter gave O'Connell the opportunity of repeating in the most decided terms, his doctrine of peaceful and constitutional agitation.

During the speech which O'Connell made on this occasion, he went into a calculation as to the annual sum which the Catholic Rent would produce. He assumed the Catholics of Ireland numbered seven millions; he did not, therefore, hesitate to say that it would "with very little exertion produce *one hundred and twenty-two thousand, nine hundred and thirty-seven pounds, ten shillings.* He liked," he said, "to give them down to the very *shillings of it*, and had there been pence, he would give them the pence too." (a laugh and cheers) "Suppose, however," he continued, "that the product was less than one-half that sum. Say it would be *fifty thousand* pounds, although one penny per month from each Catholic in Ireland ought surely to yield a sum considerably above that amount."

For practical purposes he assumed the Catholic Rent would bring in fifty thousand pounds annually, which he proposed should be employed in the following manner:—For parliamentary expenses, £5,000; for the services of the press, £15,000; for law proceedings, in preserving the legal privileges of the Catholics, and prosecuting Orange aggressors, £15,000; for the purpose of education *for the* Catholic poor, £5,000; for educating

Catholic priests for the service of America, £5,000; which items amount to £45,000. The remaining £5,000 a year was to accumulate in order to repair and build Catholic chapels and schools.

Calculations of income based on population are often deceptive, even when the government tax-man has the law at his back; of course they are not reliable at all in the case of voluntary offerings. To this the Catholic Rent was no exception. For the whole five years during which it was collected, it produced very little over £50,000, which sum was O'Connell's *reduced* estimate of income from it for *one* year. Here are the figures :—

Rent received to	March, 1825,	£16,212	11	4
„	Dec., 1826,	6,261	9	9
„	Dec., 1827,	3,066	15	7
„	Dec., 1828,	21,424	19	1
„	Feb., 1829,	5,300	0	0
		£52,265	15	9*

* The *Rent*, as we have seen, encountered both opposition and ridicule. Mr. Finn, the editor of the *Carlow Post*, who was a Catholic and not unimportant agitator, called it the "*beggar's tax*;" and John O'Connell says in his Memoirs of his father :—"Boys will catch up, and reflect the opinions of men, and the writer well recollects that he himself was, for some time, much jeered at by several of his schoolfellows for his father's '*penny-a-month plan for liberating Ireland.*'" The weekly returns reached a very respectable figure in 1824, the first year of the collection, as the following extract will show :—

"CATHOLIC RENT.—This great measure is now in full operation, and its success, we think, is certain. The week before last upwards of £200 was paid into the hands of the treasurers, and last week £332 was added to the same."—*Dublin Evening Post, Sept. 21st*, 1824.

For the week ending December 17th, the large sum of £900 9s. 7d. was handed in.

There was a further sum of two thousand six hundred pounds put to the credit of the Association, arising out of interest on money invested, and receipts at the door of the Corn Exchange; but the above represents the sum total of Catholic Rent for five years, which is a trifle over £10,000 a year.

Mr. Goulburn was Secretary for Ireland at this time. He visited Killarney, when Mr. O'Connell, then on circuit, was there. Both stopped at Finn's hotel, and chanced to get bed-rooms opening off the same corridor. Mr. O'Connell's early habits made him be up at cock-crow. Finding the hall door locked, and so being hindered from walking outside, he commenced walking up and down the corridor. To pass the time, he repeated aloud some of Moore's poetry, and had just uttered the lines.—

"We tread the land that bore us,
Her green flag glitters o'er us,
The friends we've tried are by our side"—

At this moment Goulburn popped his night-capped head out, to see what was the matter. Mr. O'Connell instantly pointed his finger at him, and finished the verse—

"And the foe we hate before us."

In went Goulburn's head again in the greatest hurry. *

* Repeal Catechism.

"It was not his (Mr. O'Connell's) wish to lay blame where it was not deserved, but it was hardly possible to cite a stronger proof of incompetency for office than was furnished

The "Second Reformation," as it used to be called, was at its height in Ireland in 1824. The then Lord Farnham was one of its great patrons, and the "Souperism" of Farnham Castle was celebrated in many a rude ballad, sung through the fairs and markets of the country.* Lord Farnham, however, does not seem to have been the originator of the holy undertaking, for we are told on excellent authority, that "Dr. Doyle, in a conversation with a priest at this period, detailed the circumstances in which this extensive crusade would seem to have originated. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Plunket, in the course of an interview with his old friend, Archbishop Magee, observed that nothing would be easier than to proselytize the Irish people, by means of earnest and zealous missionaries. The priests, he said, especially in the country parts, were ignorant and awkward, inefficient as logicians, and timid and blundering in society. Mr. Plunket expressed his conviction that such men could make no manner of stand against an ably organized and simultaneous assault

by the Tithe Commutation Bill, and which was the offspring of Mr. Goulburn's legislative function. Mr. Goulburn was, he believed, an amiable man in private life, but he was of opinion that his upper story was excessively ill-furnished. Indeed it followed that a man who came to this country for the purpose of perpetuating Catholic exclusion, must necessarily be devoid of those qualities requisite for a legislator or statesman."—*O'Connell's Speech on the Tithe Bill*, 27th of December, 1823.

* The word "Souper" and "Souperism" did not exist at this time; and it is only just to a worthy man, the late Archdeacon O'Sullivan, of Kenmare, to say, that he always claimed to have added these words to our vocabulary, and to have applied them in the first instance to the proselytes of Dingle, where he was curate.

from the eminently expert divines and scholars which Trinity College was then daily sending forth. The Irish peasantry," he added, "were naturally so quick-witted that they would not fail at once to perceive the superiority which the Protestant clergymen were certain to maintain in a public discussion. Archbishop Magee concurred with Mr. Plunket, and hence the origin of the celebrated movement known as the "Second Reformation.'"*

Nearly every city and town in Ireland was visited by the itinerant controversialists, who proclaimed their readiness to meet in public discussion any one who would undertake to defend the doctrines of Popery.

Two distinguished lay preachers of the Word visited Cork in the September of this year—the honorable Mr. Noel, and a Scotchman, a navy captain, named Gordon. The Hibernian Society received them, and called a meeting in order to give them the opportunity of making polemical speeches. This meeting grew into a most important and exciting affair, inasmuch as O'Connell, Shiel, and Bric, together with the P.P. of Glanmire, the Rev. Mr. Falvey, determined to meet them on their own platform. So intense was the interest manifested, that there were two adjournments.

"When O'Connell entered the assembly the first day, Captain Gordon was addressing the meeting. He was in the act of communicating, in his peculiar Scotch dialect, the marvellous information, 'that the object of the Hibernian

* "*Life of* the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle." By W. J. Fitzpatrick, *Esq.* Vol. i., p. 367.

Society, by distributing the *Beeble*, was to make the *female* peesantry of Ireland moral *men!*' O'Connell, while pressing his way to a seat, shouted out with a triumphant laugh, '*Female* peasantry! moral *men!* Oh! that would never happen but in Ireland.' Of course a roar of laughter followed; and the captain was, for a time at least, thrown off his centre."* Some Mr. Kenny, a parson I presume, attacked a priest named Carroll. Of this O'Connell said:—"Mr. Kenny has thought proper to vent his wrath upon the misfortunes of Mr. Carroll. How soon the parson undertook to roast the priest. When he had him once on the spit, with what pious rancour he turned him round, and delighted in the Popish dripping. The parson should not court comparison with the priest. Where was the parson found? He was a shepherd who visited his flock at the sheering time. Where was the priest? At the side of the bed of straw impregnated with typhus, performing the duties of his sacred religion, with infection and death about him."†

The famous controversialist, Mr. Pope, took part in the proceedings, and made a long speech. O'Connell undertook to reply to him. In doing so he spoke this remarkable passage:—"If every one was at liberty to interpret the Scriptures according to his own way of thinking, oh! it is plain as the sun at noon-day, that even Mr. Pope might have spared himself the labour of trying to reduce the countless sectaries in England, to what he terms

* "Life and Times of O'Connell." By Fagan. Vol. i., p. 304.

† *Dublin Evening Post*, Sept. 19th, 1824.

five divisions; and that the divine oracle, 'He that does not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican,' would be perfectly unmeaning (cheers). Mr. Pope has quoted a bundle of saints, but they all differed in opinion from him. If he appeal to St. Basil, St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyprian—they all differed from him—they were all Catholics. Some of them were the greatest founders of convents the Christian world ever produced, and all of them celebrated that divine sacrifice of the Mass, which Mr. Pope, or any other mister who wishes to rise in the church as by law established, must swear to be both damnable and idolatrous. And one of them (St. Augustine) emphatically declares that 'he would not believe the Gospel unless on the authority of the Catholic Church'" (loud cheers).

"We look in vain through Shiel's speech for the brilliancy and point which characterized his party and political orations. The controversy was an appropriate field for eloquence; but he was not at home there. It was not suited to his genius, nor was his knowledge of the subject matter under discussion sufficiently profound to enable him to mould the subject to his own genius, as he would a political topic. His bright sabre and his fiery spirit always won for him triumphs in a party *melée*, but he wanted the heavy artillery, which deep reading furnishes, to be as distinguished as, from his talents, he deserved in the war of polemics.

"Mr. Bric's was a better, as it was a far longer speech—though he was much below Shiel as an orator. Bric was a fluent, common-sense, and very popular speaker. Though a young man whose

career terminated prematurely, his memory is to this moment revered by the Irish people. O'Connell was affectionately attached to him. On this occasion he made himself up for the discussion, and was eminently successful."*

* "Fagan's Life and Times of O'Connell." Vol. i., p. 304-5.

Poor John Bric, a young man of rare promise, was killed in a duel in 1826. It happened in this way:—He was putting a letter into the post-office (in Dublin) when the Cork mail coach drove up. There was an election going on in Cork—Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Callaghan being the candidates. Some gentlemen were waiting for the news. On its being announced by a passenger that Mr. Hutchinson was at the head of the poll, Mr. Bric said he was glad the rascal Callaghan was behind. He was overheard by Mr. Hayes, a cousin-german of Mr. Callaghan's, who replied, that he (Mr. Bric) was a ruffian for saying so. A challenge was the result. The parties met in a field behind the Whitworth Hospital, between the canal and Glasnevin. Mr. Bric, when placed on his ground, mistook the directions, and was about to fire too soon. He was corrected by his second, and he apologised for the mistake. The word being given, he fired first, and his ball grazed the ground at Mr. Hayes's feet. After firing he turned round, and received Mr. Hayes's ball under the arm, and was dead in a quarter of an hour. He was carried to the "Cross Guns," at the canal bridge leading to Glasnevin, where an inquest was held. Mr. Bric seems to have been badly handled. There was confusion on the ground, many persons were present, and the word had to be given a second time.

At the inquest, the late Mr. Carew O'Dwyer was the principal witness. He deposed that when Mr. Bric was hit, some friends cried out to Mr. Hayes, "off, off." Poor Bric frequently said before the duel, "I have no individual feeling in this—it is the public cause." "As he was passing to his ground, and about taking up his position," said Mr. O'Dwyer, "he raised his hat a little to me, and said—'Here is for God and my country.'" O'Connell felt *Bric's untimely* death acutely, and for some time it was

"The meeting, at the time, created universal attention, but no conclusion was arrived at, and it was in due time forgotten."*

The close of 1824 is remarkable for the first government prosecution of O'Connell. At a meeting of the Catholic Association, held on the 17th of December in that year, he delivered what was afterwards known as his "Bolivar" speech. There were several reasons why he was buoyant and bold, and even military, on that day. The meeting was large and influential; the Catholic Rent for the week had never been so high—it was over £900, and the first subcription he himself had to hand in, was £5 from a general—General O'Farrell Ambrose, an Irishman and a Catholic, who had been thirty-nine years in the Austrian service, and who had seen thirty-four campaigns. "The *Courier*," said

remarked his usual buoyancy of spirits had forsaken him. —*Dublin Evening Post*, Dec. 26th, 1826.

Mr. Hamilton, who lived at Annadale Cottage near the spot, and who was a perfect authority on the "Code of Honor," says, in his valuable work on duelling:—"It is with considerable pain, but with a sense of public duty, that in this edition we censure the behaviour of Mr. Bric's second, upon an occasion which proved fatal to the learned gentleman. There scarcely ever was a case which offered more facilities for an adjustment. Mr. Bric was an admirer of this code; he and his antagonist were reasonable men; their quarrel was accidental, about a third person, and happened in the warmth of electioneering zeal. A very trifling explanation would have saved the life of Bric, and the reputation of his second. Had we been upon the ground, we would have stood between the combatants, and prevented the effusion of that blood, which we afterwards saw congealed."—*The Royal Code of Honor, by Joseph Hamilton*, p. 7 (note).

* "*Fagan's Life and Times of O'Connell.*" Vol. i., *pp. 304-5.*

O'Connell, "had attacked the Catholics, and boasted that the Wellingtons, the Packs—in short that all the generals of the British army were Protestants. Why," said Dan, pointedly, "that is the *grievance* not the *fault* of the Catholic's. Was the *Courier* ignorant," he continued, "that there was not a foreign service of which the Catholics were not at the head? Was the *Courier* aware that, when Maria Teresa instituted the order of the Cross of Military merit in Austria, of the first fifty individuals who were promoted to that honor, FORTY-TWO were Irish Catholics (hear, hear and cheers). It was an extraordinary fact, but he (Mr. O'Connell), would pledge himself to procure the names of those distinguished individuals."

Constitutional agitation, and moral force were O'Connell's weapons, but no man knew better than he, that his moral force principle drew strength and vitality from occasional allusions to physical force. Hence he was most marked in his eulogies, upon such down-trodden nations as rose against tyranny —*even with arms in their hands.* Simon Bolivar was a great man in 1824, and for several years previous to and after it. Born in South America whilst it was still under the Spanish yoke, he early formed the design of freeing his country. He began his career in 1810, and although that career was not unchequered by some reverses, it was, on the whole, brilliant and successful. At the time O'Connell made the speech in question, Bolivar had not only liberated his country, but had established the republic of Columbia of which he was elected President. He was invited by the Peruvians to go to their aid, which he did. They named him Dictator, and after two years fighting he cleared

Peru of the Spaniards, which was accomplished just about the time O'Connell made the speech. The name of Simon Bolivar was then a name to charm by: it was ringing through the world.

The Greeks, at the same moment, were in deadly conflict with the tyrannical and sensual harem-keeper of Constantinople.

The fact that O'Connell's allusions were to contemporary events of vast significance, gave, of course, peculiar point to his words, which were differently reported in different newspapers. They appeared as follows in *Saunders' News-Letter*. Having praised the writers of the London *Examiner*, he continued to say:—"They had evinced for the Roman Catholics the same feelings which they had expressed for the cause of the Greeks. The Greeks were engaged in warfare for the recovery of their rights; they (the Roman Catholics) trusted that their ends would be procured through more peaceable means. Nations had been driven mad by oppression. He hoped that Ireland would never be driven to the system pursued by the Greeks. He trusted in God they would be never so driven. He hoped Ireland would be restored to her rights; but if that day should arrive, if she were driven mad by persecution, he wished that a new Bolivar might arise—that the spirit of the Greeks and of the South Americans might animate the people of Ireland!"

The *Morning Register*, O'Connell's own organ, gave the passage thus;—"Oppression drives the wise man mad; it has not yet had that effect upon the Irish people; it has never driven them to the extremity of desperate resistance, and heaven forbid *it ever should*; but if such an event should come to

pass, may another Bolivar, and the example of the Greeks animate their efforts!"

The speech must have made a sensation at once, for the *Evening Post*, being an evening and tri-weekly journal, and therefore *having* some time for reflection, omits the passage altogether; only making this general observation about it: "after a few *warm* observations, Mr. O'Connell concluded."

There is a traditional account of this speech well fixed in my mind, which I remember to have heard, not long after its delivery. It is this:—When O'Connell began his allusion to South America and Greece, he grew more warm and emphatic. A prudent friend whose name I heard, but cannot now be sure of, and who sat behind him, plucked him by the skirt and whispered to him—"Take care, Dan, that you are not going too far;" but the hint only seemed to stimulate him the more, and he finished the passage with still greater vehemence. The precise form in which he alluded to Bolivar, I heard, was:—"Should they [the people of Ireland] be ever driven to armed resistance, which I hope they never shall *may there be a Bolivar found amongst them.*" But, in fact, the reports are substantially the same. The force of the threat, for it was a threat, consisted in this, that it suggested to the meeting and the people of Ireland, that there was to be armed resistance, some day, and that the Bolivar of that armed resistance was, very probably, to be Dan himself. As to the saving clause,—"which I hope they never shall,"—they accepted that, as a piece of legal cleverness to avoid the law.

The speech was spoken on the 17th of December; it appeared in the newspapers on the 18th and on

Monday the 20th, Alderman Darley, accompanied by Mr. Farrell, constable of police, went to O'Connell's house, and having obtained an interview with him, said:—"I have been directed by the Attorney-General to call on you, to enter into recognizance to appear at the next sessions. It will save you the trouble of appearing at the police office, if you enter into those recognizances now."

"Upon what charge, Mr. Darley?" inquired O'Connell.

"Upon the charge," he replied, "of having spoken seditious words at the last meeting of the Catholic Association."

"What words am I charged with having spoken?"

"I am not at liberty to inform you," said Alderman Darley, "you must apply to the Attorney-General."

"Can I even know the name of the informer?"

"I am not at liberty to tell you, you must apply to a higher quarter."

"Then Mr. Alderman, I submit at once. I will enter into the recognizance, though I am not to know for what."

"One thing you will admit," said O'Connell, with a smile, as they parted, "the Attorney-General will have no difficulty in procuring a grand jury to find the bills against me."

What Attorney-General Plunket did in the case was this:—he had O'Connell arrested in the first instance, and then he went in search of evidence to sustain the charge of sedition He got Alderman Darley to summon the reporters who were at the meeting professionally, for the purpose of getting *from them,* the precise words spoken about Bolivar

and the Greeks. With one exception, the re-reporters behaved in a manner becoming high-minded independent gentlemen. The following is a specimen of their conduct and bearing on the occasion :—

"Were you present at this meeting, Mr. Vousden?" asked Alderman Darley, addressing the reporter of the *Dublin Morning Post.*

"I was," replied the reporter.

"Pray, what were the precise words which O'Connell used with reference to Bolivar?"

"I have not my notes about me."

"Oh! but surely you can recollect."

"I have no accurate recollection on the subject," replied the reporter, "and, even if I had, I do not think the press the proper medium through which the business of a common informer should be transacted."

In sending the bills to the grand jury, the judge told them "that before they found them, they should be satisfied the words were uttered, and if uttered, with what intent." A witness was sent before the grand jury to sustain the indictment, but his evidence was a miserable failure. He was a reporter of *Saunders' News-Letter*, named Stephen Nolan Elrington. On being called into the grand jury-room to prove the expressions—having been closely questioned—he was driven to admit that he was *asleep* when the alleged seditious passage was uttered by O'Connell, and on being awakened by a blow given on the table, he asked the person near him "What caused the noise," and from what that person told him, he made his report accordingly for *Saunders*, as if he had heard it himself. Upon this admission, the foreman sent him out of the room,

not considering him entitled to credit. Such was the foundation for the first government prosecution against O'Connell—the first official assault on the new Catholic agitation. The grand jury, on a division of fifteen to eight, threw out the bills, and Mr. O'Connell returned to his home amid the enthusiastic shouts of the people.*

It was on the 4th of January, 1825, the bills were ignored by the grand jury. The majority of the English newspapers ridiculed the prosecution as a blunder.

The Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, Bart., was a public man, and a celebrity at this time. He possessed a good private fortune, besides being a beneficed clergyman; his benefice was somewhere in the county Louth. He lived at Blackrock House, near Dublin, at present the residence of Thomas Vance, Esq. He was grand chaplain to the Orangemen of Ireland—a furious partizan, and at least Mr. Whalley's equal for deep insight into Popish plots and Jesuitical villainies. He had established a newspaper called the *Antidote, or Protestant Guardian*, in which journal a letter bearing his signature, and addressed to the Protestants of Ulster, appeared on the 18th of December, the very day after O'Connell made his "Bolivar" speech. This letter was full of treason, mixed with exuberant professions of loyalty. In it, amongst a host of other things, he said:—

"I will instantly recommend to the Protestants of Ulster to form a great military confederation,

* See "Life and Times of O'Connell," by Fagan. Vol. i., *p. 320.* The *Dublin Evening Post*, and the other journals *of the time.*

should this despicable Cabinet—the infatuated and ignorant cabal of his Majesty's Cabinet—persevere in their present system two months longer. I will consider it to be my duty, as your acknowledged protector, to pass in review the entire Protestant force of Ulster early in March, by which period I shall arrange such a military organization for the province, as shall render it a matter of perfect indifference to me, whether Mr. George Canning or the Grenvilles choose to protect us or to join the priests."

The *Antidote* was a weekly print of limited circulation, and but for the circumstances of the time, Sir Harcourt's letter might have passed unheeded; as it was, the English journals took it up, and used it in the discussion concerning the arrest of O'Connell. "This," said the *Chronicle*, "is the most audacious threat ever held out to any government. . . . Yet it is all taken in good part, while a sentiment of O'Connell's, against which no valid objection can be urged, is selected for prosecution."

By such attacks as the above the government were shamed into the *pretence* of prosecuting Sir Harcourt Lees. Mr. Kemmis, the Crown Solicitor, called upon him to acknowledge the letter, as, otherwise, Messrs. Bull and Gowan, the registered proprietors of the *Antidote*, would be made responsible. Sir Harcourt, in reply, avowed the authorship of the letter in question, adding, that he had no objection whatever that the manuscript of it should be given up, and he defied the whole of his Majesty's counsel to decypher two lines of it! This was no idle threat, for the Rev. Bart. was always obliged to read his manuscripts to the printers who

put his letters in type, as no other human being could make any hand of them. O'Connell once said of Sir Harcourt's penmanship, that it resembled the freaks of a mad spider dipped in ink and thrown upon paper.

Mr. Kemmis next wrote an official letter to the rev. delinquent, in reply to which he ventilated his views thus-wise, on the 1st of January, 1825:

"I AM THE AUTHOR of the address to the Protestants of the province of Ulster, which was published in the *Antidote, weekly journal*, of the 18th of December, '24; and I wrote it under the influence of feelings emanating from the purest principles of loyalty and allegiance to my venerated sovereign, that ever inspired the breast of mortal man, in order to apprise his Majesty's faithful and unsuspecting subjects, of a dark and cold-blooded conspiracy that I believed, from information I had received, was at the very hour hatching against their lives and their religion. I declare that I published that address from a decided conviction, that an immediate exposure of the horrible plot, (precisely similar in its intended mode of operation as the treacherous massacre of Saint Bartholomew in 1572), could, under Divine Providence, arrest the immediate slaughter of those faithful and too confiding Protestants."

The prosecution against O'Connell having fallen through, the government troubled Sir Harcourt no further.*

* Sir Harcourt Lees was an odd man in appearance when I knew him; his face was so ghastly, and his lips so livid, that one would not at any time, think his life worth a week's purchase, yet he lived to an old age. He was the last who wore a "spencer" in the streets of Dublin; this "spencer" being

simply a round jacket like a boy's, put over an ordinary coat, and named after its inventor. He had bad sight, but instead of wearing spectacles, or using an eye-glass in the common way, he had an aperture cut in the leaf of his hat, in which an eye-glass was fixed, so as to be opposite his right eye. He was, beyond doubt, an eccentric man, and had a "craze"; but in his domestic relations he was most kind-hearted. He seldom employed any domestics but Catholics, who were loud in their praise of him, as the best of masters.

It may be permitted here to relate, shortly, the medical treatment which was, upon one occasion, applied to

SIR HARCOURT'S FAVORITE DOG. Sir Harcourt was fond of dogs and field sports. Once upon a time, a very favorite dog of his became unwell. His disease was a determined refusal to take food. Every canine delicacy was tried with him to no purpose—he starved and pined on. The family physician was called in; he prescribed in vain. When hope had paled into its faintest glimmer, a faithful and trusted servant ventured to suggest, that there was a certain blacksmith, named Doyle, in the town, who had the reputation of being skilful about dogs. It was a sad come down to be obliged to consult a blacksmith about the health of such a pet; but needs must, and Doyle was sent for. He saw the patient, and made a shrewd guess at the disease.

"Can you do anything for this poor sufferer, Doyle?" was the first question.

"I think I can, Sir Harcourt; but you will be pleased to allow me to take him home to my own place."

"Ah, that is hard. Could you not treat him here?"

"No, sir. I will not undertake the case, unless you allow me to bring him with me; and that we may have a proper understanding about the matter, my charge for curing him will be two pounds. Should I fail to do so, I will ask no fee whatever."

The proposal was a very fair one, and Sir Harcourt agreed.

The dog was dying from being over fed with delicacies, and Doyle saw it.

He brought him to his forge, broke an unpeeled potato on a plate, poured a little milk on it, and placed it before the dog. The aristocratic animal turned away with infinite disdain from such plebian fare.

"Wait awhile, my saucy chap," said Doyle. "You might be glad to get a bit of that same one of those days." He procured a strong cord, tied one end of it to the dog's collar, and the other to the *upper* board of the forge bellows, at the extreme hinder part of it, arranging the length of the cord so that when the bellows was blown the dog was lifted a foot or two from the ground and let suddenly down again as the machine collapsed. When this process went on for some hours, amid shrieks and moans, the potato and milk mess was again produced to him, and he condescended to smell at the food, and lap a little of the milk. He was going on well in Doyle's opinion.

After a due course of this treatment, the dog, when loosed from his "swing-swong," used to rush ravenously at the poor fare which he had at first so contemptuously rejected. The cure was complete. Doyle then left him foodless for an unusually long time, and brought him in that condition to Blackrock House.

"Well, Doyle, has he recovered his appetite?" anxiously inquired Sir Harcourt.

"Yes, Sir Harcourt, I pledge myself to that—only try him. Please to order him some potatoes and milk."

"Oh," said Sir Harcourt, "the creature was never accustomed to such food as that. He would not look at it."

"If he does not eat it," said Doyle, "and with a good appetite too, I'll ask no fee."

The pototoes and milk were brought: the starved wretch rushed at the food most ravenously. and gobbled it up.

Doyle received his two pounds, was thanked heartily, and dismissed with many enconiums on his skill and ability.

CHAPTER V.

Suppression of the Catholic Association—Deputation to London—Debates in Parliament—The Duke of York's Speech—Meeting at the Freemason's Hall—O'Connell's Speech—He is examined before a Parliamentary Committee—Is appointed to prepare a Bill for Catholic Emancipation—The "Wings"—Endowment of the Clergy, and abolition of the Forty-shilling Freeholders unpopular in Ireland—Jack Lawless—Establishment of the new Association—Death of the Duke of York—Death of Lord Liverpool—Canning, Prime Minister—General Election of 1826—Louth—Monaghan—Armagh—Waterford—The Pope and Maguire Discussion.

1825 to 1828.

NOTHING proves more conclusively the power and value of the Catholic Association, than the eagerness of the Government to suppress it, although it was a perfectly legal body. Parliament met on the 3rd of February, 1825, and in the King's speech, delivered by Commission, he was made to say two things about this country; (1) that it was prosperous; (2) that "it was to be regretted that Associations should exist in Ireland which have adopted proceedings irreconcilable with the spirit of the Constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm and by exasperating animosity, to endanger the peace of society, and to retard the course of national improvement. His Majesty relied upon the wisdom of Parliament to consider without delay the means of applying a remedy to this evil."

Both these assertions were quite devoid of truth; there was no prosperity, and the Association, so far from endangering the peace of society, really promoted it, by discountenancing crime and outrage.

every kind, which it did with great success, for the tranquility of the country was an acknowledged fact at the period; and this was in a great measure, owing to the influence of the Association.

It being evident to everybody that the Catholic movement was to be put down by Act of Parliament, a meeting of the doomed Association was called for the 9th of February, to protest against the proceeding, and to proclaim anew their fidelity to the Crown and laws of the country. It was the largest meeting of the Association which had been held, up to that period; not only was the great room of the Corn Exchange crowded, but every approach to it was filled with persons eager to hear what course would be taken to meet the impending crisis. Resolutions were proposed and adopted, in which the proceedings of the Association were explained and defended. They were read for the meeting by O'Connell, and received with enthusiasm. One of those resolutions declared, as was perfectly evident, that the Association, in all its proceedings, had been most particular to act legally and constitutionally, and was guided not only by the letter, but by the spirit of the *existing laws*—nay, more, that it manifested an unfeigned and constant respect for the spirit of the Constitution; that its proceedings were attended with the happiest effects, having quieted the fears of all the peaceable and loyal inhabitants of the country. On the same day, a petition to Parliament was adopted, praying that the Association might be heard by Counsel at the bar of the House, to show cause why it ought not to be suppressed.

Within a week after the meeting of Parliament, *the Irish* Secretary, Mr. Goulburn, laid on the table *of the* House of Commons, a bill for the abolition

of the Catholic Association. That body was greatly maligned, and its objects glaringly misrepresented, by those who supported the bill. Mr. Goulburn's classification of the persons of whom it was composed, was really amusing, whilst he meant it to be solemn and alarming. "The Catholic Association," he said, "comprises a great variety of persons, amongst them many of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, of whom I am disposed to speak in terms 'more in sorrow than in anger.' . . . . . not only were they particular agents, but they were joined with others of the Catholic Association, in exercising the influence of their station, to forward the views of that body.

"The next class of persons in the society are those who are well known. They are persons of disappointed ambition, of some talents; persons who have been alternately the framers and the advocates of real or imaginary grievances; persons who have been troublesome at all times, and under all Governments, by *inflaming the passions, by talking of oppression, by adverting to the profligacy of the laws*—by such means have those persons risen to the elevation which was the object of their ambition.

"It comprises also another class of persons familiar with plots and treasons—persons, some of whom have suffered the penalty of the law, for plots and treasons. It contains men who not only assembled at the councils of *Tone, Russell, Emmett*, and other names, but who were in arms against the King's troops; men who were organised for the purpose of carrying any desperate object they thought proper to conceive. I must add, it also comprises a considerable number of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry." (Hear, hear, from the Opposition Benches.) He further said, that the Association

held what they called aggregate meetings, and collected a tribute under the name of Catholic Rent, which was "torn from the people."

The Association was ably defended by several Liberal Members of Parliament, more especially by Sir Henry Parnell, and Henry Brougham. The latter said, in the course of his speech, that "he considered it a peculiar hardship in their case [the case of the Association], that they were called upon to meet complaints, which were at once unreasonable and contradictory. The first of these was—that they were a body acting openly and without reserve; showing their designs and intentions in the face of day. Now, if they had skulked from the public eye, and carried on their proceedings in secret meetings, would we not have heard the opposite charge—that their designs were dangerous, because they were secret—because they were not open, innocent, and frank; because they did not speak out and proclaim their purposes, as virtuous innocence always did? Boldness and impudence were *now* ascribed—*then* it would have been perfidy and fraud. They were accused of aping and emulating the forms of Parliament. Had they done otherwise, would not the charge have been inverted? They would have been accused of the love of innovation, and showing, in the very order of their proceedings, a revolutionary spirit—of imitating the French. If they were open—it was impudence; if secret—it was impious; if they found fault with that which they suffered—it was turbulence; if they were quiet—there was danger; did they pronounce censure or blame—it was disaffection; if they were to offer praise—it would be set down for hypocrisy. Nothing they could say or do would satisfy their *opponents*, and the bill stated, that the only way of

reconciliation was to destroy their existence altogether. 'I don't care,' said an honorable member, 'about the blustering of Ireland, but beware,' added this alarming logician, 'when Ireland shows the aspect of tranquility.'"

In the beginning of February, Mr. Lawless proposed in the Catholic Association, that O'Connell and Sheil should proceed to London, in order to be heard at the bar of the House against the "Algerine" bill. The proposal was carried, and it was this circumstance which gave rise to the Catholic deputation; it being further arranged that the two counsel named should be accompanied by a deputation to the people of England, the deputies to be chosen from various classes of the Irish Catholics, from prelates, peers, sons of peers, lawyers, merchants, &c. Lord Killeen, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. O'Gorman, the Hon. Mr. Preston, and many others are recorded as having been members of this very remarkable deputation. They were received in the kindest manner by the Liberals of England both Protestant and Catholic—in fact, they were lionised. They called at Wolverhampton on their journey, to visit the well known Bishop Milner, then Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland district. On their arrival in London, Sir Francis Burdett, at the time a great Liberal, begged to have an interview with them as soon as possible, upon the business of their mission. It took place at his house. He expressed a decided opinion that they should leave the management of their Parliamentary affairs in the hands of Mr. Plunket, then Attorney-General for Ireland. He also told them he believed they had no chance of being heard at the bar of the House.

Their next public appearance was in the House itself; where they went to hear the debate on their

petition. They were so far officially recognised, that "the Speaker had the goodness to direct that the Catholic deputies should be allowed to sit under the gallery during the discussion, which appertained immediately to the object of their mission."*

"In the front of our body was Mr. O'Connell, upon whom every eye was fixed. He affected a perfect carelessness of manner; but it was easy to perceive that he was full of restlessness and inquietude, under an icy surface."†

The Government had determined to make every effort to prove that the Catholic Association meant sedition, and was therefore dangerous, whilst it pretended to be legal and constitutional. This line was attempted by Mr. Goulburn, in which his failure was singularly complete. The Government were confounded, everything was so public. They would have given anything for the smallest secret connected with the Catholic Association—some private book—an unpublished name—some sign—a password of any kind—some private agency, no matter how harmless—but no, everything was ostentatiously public—publicity was, in fact, the life of the movement. And thus "Constitutional agitation" proved itself to be the single Irish file on which the Government serpent could make no impression, sharp as his fangs were. The officials, therefore, betook themselves to misrepresentation. Undaunted by Goulburn's failure, Mr. Secretary Peel pursued precisely the same course. He had a large party in the House, and was popular with them. In his speech against the Catholic delegates

* "*Sketches, Legal and Political.*" By the Right Hon. R. *Lalor Sheil*, Vol. ii., p. 35.
† *Ibid.*

he was repeatedly cheered by his party. "He became heated with victory, and, cheered as he was repeatedly by his multitudinous partizans, turned suddenly towards the part of the House where the deputies were seated, and looking triumphantly at Mr. O'Connell, with whom he forgot for a moment, that he had been once involved in a personal quarrel, shook his hand with scornful exultation, and asked whether the House required any better evidence than the address of the Association to an 'attainted traitor.' The phrase was well uttered, and the effect as a piece of oratory was great and powerful."*

The "attainted traitor" here meant was Archibald Hamilton Rowen, to whom the Catholic Association had presented an address some time before. Peel was incorrect in calling him an "attainted traitor," the crime, so far as it was a crime, for which he was imprisoned, was that of seditious libel, which was not treason. Brougham replied to Peel and defended Hamilton Rowan. He was very effective. He told the Government that conciliation not persecution, was the right course for them to pursue. The Catholic delegates were ready to be examined, and to answer every question put to them. "Conciliation," said he, "is in your power; you have at this moment, at no great distance from you, the delegates—the chosen and trusted of the Catholic Association. Open your doors to their counsel; let their witnesses be brought to the bar." With regard to the case of Hamilton Rowan, he said the Catholic Association, in paying that gentleman a compliment, only followed the example of suc-

* "Sketches, Legal and Political." By the Right Hon. R. Lalor Sheil. Vol. ii., p. 41.

cessive Governments, whose levees he attended, who had made him a Grand Juror of his County, and from whom he had received other marks of favour. At all events, having received pardon from his King, it did not become Mr. Peel to fling the condoned fault in his face, which must be especially trying to the feelings of that gentleman's son, who at the moment was a Captain in the King's service. He concluded—"If, in the teeth of all those advantages which are held out to you—if, in utter neglect and contempt of the signs of the times, you persist in the course—not of passing the bill, but of refusing to enter into any inquiry with respect to the facts on which its authors profess to found it; if, notwithstanding the most astounding instance of the misrepresentation of the truth, which I have just exposed in the case of Mr. Hamilton Rowan, you still persist, I beg to deliver myself from any share of the responsibility—on your heads be it." (Loud cheers.)*

On a subsequent occasion Brougham read a letter to the House, written by the Duke of Bedford, in which the following passage occurred:—"One of the very first official acts of my admistration in Ireland, was to recommend the Crown to pardon Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and no one act of that short administration gave me more satisfaction, for a more honorable and respectable man never existed in Ireland."

Brougham gave a great dinner to the delegates, and had a very distiuguished party to meet them; O'Connell was assigned the place of honour on the occasion, being seated between the Dukes of Devon-

* *Hansard.* Vol. xii., p. 590. New Series.

shire and Leinster. Entertainments were also given to them by Mr. Ponsonby, Lord Stourton, and the Duke of Norfolk, the latter being on a scale of great magnificence. "I had now," says Mr. Sheil, "become more habituated to the display of patrician magnificence in England, and saw the exhibition of its splendour without surprise. Yet I confess that at Norfolk House, where the Duke did Mr. O'Connell, Lord Killeen, and others of our deputation the honour to invite them, and, in compliment to our cause, brought together an assemblage of men of the highest rank and genius in England, I was dazzled with the splendour and gorgeousness of an entertainment, to which I had seen no parallel." And again: "We passed through a series of magnificent apartments, rich with crimson and fretted with gold. There was no glare of excessive light in this vast and seemingly endless mansion; and the massive lamps, which were suspended from the embossed and gilded ceilings, diffused a shadowed illumination, and left the distance in the dusk. The transition to the great chamber where the company were assembled, and which was glowing with light, presented a brilliant and glowing contrast."*

It was at first in contemplation to give the Irish deputies a public dinner, but the idea was abandoned, and instead of it a public meeting was held on Saturday the 26th of February at the Freemasons' Tavern. The meeting was a large one. The Duke of Norfolk was in the chair. O'Connell spoke for three hours and a-half; some say four

* "Sketches, Legal and Political." By the Right Hon. R. Lalor Sheil. Vol. ii., pp. 50, 51.

hours. Sheil says he was very anxious about what he would say on the occasion, and gave it much thought and preparation. He began with a becoming dignity and independence. He said he had left his country, his home, his profession with much inconvenience, to present the petition with which he was entrusted; but without getting an opportunity to present it, English justice spurned him from her feet. "I suppose," he said, "there is some constitution of our intellect which makes it right to treat the Irish in a manner that is not used to the African slave. The complaints of the Irish may be disagreeable; but they will, while they can, clank the chains with which they are bound, however harsh it may sound in the ears of their masters."

He proceeded to give a history of the Irish Penal Code, to prove the necessity for founding the Catholic Association; he criticised the Bill brought forward for its suppression; and went heartily into his favourite theme of "civil and religious liberty." Mr. Charles Butler and Mr. Coke, who were present, and who were regarded as excellent critics, expressed high admiration at the powers displayed by O'Connell on the occasion.*

* Mr. Sheil also spoke at this meeting; but his speech, by his own admission, was a failure. It failed for two reasons: (1) O'Connell's speech was so long that the meeting began to grow weary and to disperse before Sheil rose; (2) he departed from his usual style of thought and expression. Instead of using that sparkling rhetoric which was natural to him, and of which he was so complete a master, he "wearied the meeting with a long detail of uninteresting facts." In justice to Sheil it must be said, that he adopted this course by the advice of his friend, Tom Moore, who *told him to* be matter-of-fact; that he (Moore) knew the

The motion to hear the Catholic Association by counsel was defeated by an overwhelming majority, the numbers being, for the motion 89; against 222. The Bill for its suppression was passed by an equally decisive majority—namely, 107 against and 253 for it; so that it was extinguished by a majority of 146. The Act was christened by O'Connell the "Algerine Act," a name which permanently adhered to it.

The Catholic Association held its last meeting on the 16th of March, the rent on that day reaching the unprecedented sum of £1,844 10s. 2d. Two days after it dissolved itself, or rather adjourned *sine die*, its funeral oration was pronounced by Counsellor Coppinger, who was very well suited to the task, for he was known as "the lawyer of the rueful countenance."

Meantime the most cheering accounts reached Ireland from London—the Catholics were to be emancipated before the current session of parliament would close; and it was to be a full and unconditional emancipation. O'Connell was in constant communication with Plunket who assured him all was settled—in fact, O'Connell got the drawing up of the Emancipation Bill. Writing to the Catholic Association on the 7th of March from London, he says: "It has been permitted to me to draw the rough draft of this bill, on which I am engaged, and hope to have it ready on Wednesday next." In the same letter he announces two clauses which were to make part of the bill, which created

"English flower-garden" better than Sheil did, and that he must not indulge in flights of rhetoric. The next time Sheil addressed an English audience he adopted his old natural manner with complete success."

great divisions in the ranks of the Catholics. In paragraph 7, he writes: "A provision is to be made for the Catholic clergy, which will enable them to give charity, instead of being almost the recipients of it." And in paragraph 8, he announces that the elective franchise in *counties*, but not in cities, should be raised from 40s. to £5 or £10 (the sum does not seem to have been finally fixed). "This alteration," he says, "was suggested by many members of parliament connected with government." He approves of this, and says, that the influence the forties gave the landlords was "quite frightful;" and that, in his opinion, "the raising of the qualification to five or even ten pounds would add to Catholic influence in Ireland." These two measures were called "the wings." He seemed to feel that he was treading dangerous ground in making those proposals, for he remarks that there was full time for the people to consider them; and he finally begs that they will form no opinion upon the proposal for altering the franchise until the bill is printed, and until his return to Ireland.

O'Connell's letter was not well received. The feelings of the country were against the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, and the pensioning of the *Catholic priesthood* in any shape. What the real effect of a State provision for the clergy would have been, we can only conjecture; but the people had no second opinion about it—they felt it would turn their priests, their most trusted friends and leaders, into a government police.* The proposal was, at least, as unpopular

* *A long* series of persecutions, inflicted by the govern-

as the *Veto*, and far better understood by the masses. O'Counell was sound on the *Veto*, but unfortunately he was at the wrong side this time. However, let the "man of the people have fair play." (1) His motives were above suspicion. (2) A great concession was offered; he weighed it *pro* and *con*, and he believed the good that was in it far outbalanced the evil. Besides, on one of the points he never changed, although the country was not with him. He believed, to the last, that the priests of Ireland should have some endowment—a house and glebe, at least; and, as to the forty-shilling freeholders, he had not, in 1825, sufficient experience of their worth and independence. In the general election of the succeeding year, they laid the Tory aristocracy prostrate in their strongest holds, and thus notably hastened the granting of Emancipation.

Anyhow, the country was dead against him on the two points, and what made the difficulty the greater was, that, after their being conceded by him, Emancipation was refused. There were parties behind the Throne strong enough to prevent its success. Doubly strong they were, indeed, because the Throne was with them—how intensely with them we shall see when we come to deal with the history of the Bill of 1829. Mr. Fagan says: "There is no question, however, that O'Connell was treated with great perfidy in the course of these negotiations. He was led to believe that Emancipation was certain, provided it were accompanied

ment of the Catholics of Ireland, destroyed in their minds all confidence in persons connected with the government. I once heard a peasant woman say, "Don't trust your own son once he puts a red coat on him."

with "the wings." Every one at the time in London, who was mixed up in the matter, believed it. Mr. Blake, the Chief Remembrancer, who was then in London, who was examined before the Committee on the state of Ireland, and who was also on terms of familiar intercourse with the leading political men of the day—he has often since stated his conviction, that the matter was settled. Lord Plunket was, as we have said, himself deceived, and was thus the means of deceiving O'Connell and the rest of the deputation. The system of deceit was carried so far as to induce O'Connell to attend the Duke of York's levee at the Horse Guards.*

Various surmises have been put forth as to why this deceptive game was played with regard to the Catholic claims. (1) One is, that it was played to throw dust in the eyes of the Irish Catholics, and distract their attention from the suppression of their Association. (2) Another, that the government, being jealous of O'Connell's great power in Ireland, entrapped him into concessions which they hoped would cause his countrymen to withdraw

* "Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell." By William Fagan, Esq., M.P. Vol. i., p. 430.

The well informed correspondent of the *Dublin Evening Post* gives the following account of O'Connell's attendance at the Levée: "Mr. O'Connell has been to-day to visit his Royal Highness the Duke of York, accompanied by Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. M'Donnell, and Mr. Bagot. Mr. O'Connell having left his name yesterday at the Horse Guards (it is not usual for the Duke to receive civilians). The Duke received Mr. O'Connell very warmly; his manner was most courteous and flattering. He talked to Mr. O'Connell of his examination before the Committee, and paid him some compliments on the facility which his profession afforded him for the answering of questions.

their confidence from him. When William the Fourth summarily dismissed the Melbourne Cabinet, Lord Brougham said, in the *Times*, "The Queen has done it all." The writer of this memoir is inclined to say something of the same kind, with regard to the treachery practised on O'Connell in 1825, "The King did it all." He hated the Catholics intensely, and his duplicity was, at least, equal to his bigotry. He let the farce go on up to a point, with the intention, no doubt, of damaging the Catholic cause; but he had, at the moment, if possible, even less intention of assenting to a Catholic Relief Bill than he had in '29, when he refused to sign it until the dagger was at his throat—the Iron Duke's dagger. Moreover, it was after an interview with the King that the Duke of York went down to the House of Lords, and made his "so help me God" speech; and after its delivery he immediately rejoined the King at the opera.

This famous speech was made on Monday the 25th of April, and on the occasion of presenting a petition from the Dean and Chapter of St. George's, Windsor, "against any further concessions to the Roman Catholics." After some preliminary observations, he said: "It is now twenty-five years since this measure was first brought into discussion. I cannot forget with what events that discussion was, at the time, connected—it was connected with the most serious illness of one now no more." He spoke of the impropriety of having Catholics legislating for the Protestant Church; but said there was a still more delicate question about the Coronation Oath; and he asked their lordships to consider the situation.

in which they placed the sovereign if they passed the bill. Finally, he said: "He had been for twenty-five years, ever since the question had been agitated, advocating the cause of Protestant Ascendancy. I have been brought up," said his Royal Highness, "from my earliest years in these principles, and from the time when I began to reason for myself, I have entertained them from conviction; and in every situation I may be placed in, during my future life, I WILL MAINTAIN THEM, SO HELP ME, GOD." He meant he would maintain them when he came to the throne.*

The speech was a short one, occupying only twenty or twenty-five lines of a newspaper column. It was during the time the Catholic deputation

* This speech was wholly unexpected, except by those in the secret. The Editor of the *Dublin Evening Post* says, in the same impression in which the speech is given:—"We shall not pretend to describe the sensation which the Duke of York's speech has caused among the Catholics, and we, may add, among the Protestants of Dublin." The speech was received with loud and repeated cheers in the House of Lords. It made the Orangemen wild with enthusiasm and delight. It was printed in letters of gold, and bought up in every part of the country. It was preserved as a treasure nearly equal to the Bible, by the saints; and became at once the text for endless commentaries by the Press of the United Kingdom. *Captain Rock in London*, a weekly Gazette, conducted at the time by Moore, gave two poetic versions of it, burlesqueing it, of course. With regard to the Catholic petition being the cause of George the Third's illness, one version says—

"Our Monarch fell sick—here the speaker sobbed audibly—
And old Eldon's tears moistened the Wool-sack as laudibly—
Our Monarch fell sick, and the new State Physician,
Said 'twas typhus produced by the Popish petition."

was in London, that several Irish Catholic Bishops, including Drs. Murray and Doyle; O'Connell, Sheil, and other laymen were examined before committees of the Lords and Commons, on the state of Ireland. O'Connell was three times before the committee of the House of Commons, being under examination altogether ten hours; he was twice before the Lords' Committee. Those examinations were attended with very favorable results. Mr. Brownlow, afterwards Lord Lurgan, sat in Parliament at the time for the County Armagh. He rose in his place on the 19th of April, read extracts from Dr. Doyle's evidence, and declared himself no longer an enemy to the claims of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. Mr. Dawson, M.P. for Derry, did substantially the same thing.*

O'Connell was examined on a great variety of subjects:—The increase of population; the state of the lower orders, and their modes of living; on the conacre system; on tithes; on the state of the land laws; the administration of justice; on the excluding of Catholics from offices to which, by law, they were eligible; on confiscations and forfeitures; on secret societies; on the civil disabilities of Catholics, &c., &c.

He was asked—

Q.—"With respect to the Act which has been

* A gentleman who for many years represented an Irish constituency in Parliament, told us the following anecdote: During Dr. Doyle's examination, the Duke of Wellington left the room for a few minutes, in order to refer to some Parliamentary document. "Well, Duke," observed a Peer who happened to be entering the Committee-room—"Are you examining Dr. Doyle?" "No," replied his Grace drily, "but Doyle is examining us." *Life and Times of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle. By W. J. Fitzpatrick*, Vol. i., p. 389.

adverted to, which gave the power of distraining growing crops, was there not a provision in that Act, to meet the case of a tenant who had already paid his rent? A.—As I remember, there was, but that was only giving him a legal remedy against another person, it is quite *useless to talk of an Irish peasant having a legal remedy;* he has not money enough to pay the stamp duty upon what they call a latitat—the first process."

Q.—"What is the present character of the indiduals who are employed as process servers throughout the country? A.—It is considered, upon cross-examination, quite sufficient to establish that a man is a process server, in order to have done with his evidence."

After answering a question with regard to the exclusion of Catholics from the directory of the Bank of Ireland, he is asked—

Q.—"Do you know whether there are any other instances in which the Act of 1793 rendered the the Catholics admissible to offices, not immediately under the Government, but in different departments, to which they have never been admitted?"

A.—"To franchises, such, for example, as the freedom of the City of Dublin; for the same period the Catholics have been admissible to the freedom of the city of Dublin, there has not, I believe, been a single instance of a Catholic obtaining that right; in general the persons were too poor to enforce it. At my own expense, I found a man of the name of Cole, and I got a peremptory mandamus from the King's Bench about five years ago, but he died in a fortnight. . . . . In a case in which the individual had been a Protestant, he could have *been admitted* at once, and it was so sworn in his

affidavit, and not denied in the affidavits of the Corporation, on showing cause, as I recollect."

About the "Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory," he was asked:—

"Do you believe that the Corporation of Dublin, or any other gentlemen, could really intend to give that toast as an offence to the Catholics? or is it not more likely, that the Catholics have taken this as an offence to themselves? A.—Oh, no; certainly they meant it as a sign of superiority and triumph, and that they determine not to allow the civil equalization of things that we are seeking for; it is a kind of shibboleth of party, denoting foregone triumph, and bespeaking future degradation to us."

To another question on the same subject he replied—"Alderman Darley was an Orangeman, notoriously; some years ago, he was the person that immediately after the King left the room, when he was in Ireland, gave the offensive toast, insulting the King himself; the strongest instance imaginable, in my judgment."

During his second days examination, O'Connell had been asked several questions about the Orange system, the reason seeming to be, that he had said in some of his speeches, he had got the Orange passwords. On the third day he gave some signs and passwords, which, he said, had been communicated to him by Orangemen.

"It is," says Mr. Huish, "one of the most remarkable characteristics of the late struggle of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, that the most scrupulous obedience to the laws was insisted on by the leaders, and simultaneously yielded. When an Act of Parliament, then, denounced the Catholic Association, that body, powerful as it was in its undis-

puted command over millions, immediately yielded to the law, without any attempt at resistance. But it sunk only to rise again in another form. Its great leader saw that, so long as the elements of it existed—so long as seven millions were oppressed and knew how their oppressions might be removed—that, crush as the legislature might, one after another, the various forms which these elements might assume, they had still within them the principles of re-arrangement—they could not be extinguished."*

It was industriously circulated and extensively believed, that the suppression of the Catholic Association was only a preliminary to the granting of Emancipation; when, therefore, the news arrived in Dublin on the 20th of May, that the Catholic Relief Bill was thrown out by the Lords, great was the disappointment and indignation of the Catholics. On the 23rd, a preliminary meeting was held, to consider what public steps should be taken in consequence of the defeat of the measure. Resolutions to be submitted to an aggregate meeting were prepared, which aggregate meeting was held on the 8th of June. It assembled in St. Michan's, otherwise North Anne-street, Chapel. It was, as O'Connell used to say of large enthusiastic meetings, "a great day for Ireland." The meeting was called for one o'clock—the chapel was crowded at eleven. At half past one the cry of "chair," "chair," was heard throughout the chapel. Mr. O'Gorman rose and said, it was absolutely impossible that the chair could be taken at the moment, as Lord Gormanstown,

* "Memoirs of Daniel O'Connell, Esq." By Robert Huish, Esq., F.R.S., F.T.A., p. 387.

who was to fill the chair, was at the door, but owing to the excessive crowd, could not obtain an entrance, and that Sir Thomas Esmonde and other gentlemen were excluded from the same cause.

A passage having been at length made for Lord Gormanstown, he reached the platform and was moved to the chair.

O'Connell, on this occasion, was attired in what was regarded as the uniform of the Association—a blue frock coat, with black buttons, black velvet collar, and a gilt button on the shoulder; yellow vest and white trowsers.

The business of the day was commenced by Mr. O'Gorman, who said, that since their last meeting two events had occurred—the Catholic Association had been put down by brute force, and the Catholic question had been thrown out by a majority of forty-eight in the House of Lords. "But," he continued, "as the Catholic Association lived nobly, so its death was honorable and glorious. I trust, however, that from its ashes another Association, like another Phœnix, will arise (loud cheers). I say like another Phœnix, an Association will arise, which, by all legal and constitutional exertions, may yet strike terror into the heart's core of bigotry and despotism." Jack Lawless, who was the great denouncer of the "Wings," and the advocate of "*unqualified*" Emancipation, proposed a resolution, which implied a censure on O'Connell. It was:—"That the Catholics of Ireland have never given their assent, nor authorised an assent to be given on their part, to two measures lately introduced into Parliament—namely, a bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, and that for rendering the Catholic Clergy the stipendiaries of the Crown."

The majority of the meeting appeared to be against this resolution; it, however, received an amount of support sufficient to prove to O'Connell, that he had jeopardised his popularity in conceding the "Wings."

He spoke long and earnestly at this meeting. "Let us rally and unite," he said, "round the standard of liberty. I have promised in England that there shall be a new Catholic Association (cheers). I have promised that there shall be a new collection of the Rent (cheers). The people shall be enumerated—the census from the parishes is already coming in. I have this day got a census from the Parish of Ardcath, in the diocess of Meath. The return of the Catholic population is as follows:—Males, 682; females, 561. And then as to the Protestants—there is but one Protestant inhabitant in the parish—and yet, what do you think the poor people pay for Church-rate? No less than four pence an acre, although there is no Protestant Church. But there is a salary of £20 a-year for a parish clerk, who has nothing to do, and £10 for one who is too old to do anything. Lord Liverpool has determined to put down the Catholic question. . . . . the Catholics have been cruelly, and I will say, treacherously defeated, in their struggle for their rights, in one of the Houses of Parliament, after their claims had been, not only recognised, but triumphantly established in the other branch of the legislature; and under these circumstances it becomes our duty to consider, what means are best calculated to ensure the ultimate attainment, for ourselves and our children, of those rights which have been so long withheld. 'Tis true, we have been defeated, but we are not dismayed; we

have been betrayed, but are unconquered still!" (cheers).

At this meeting a Committee was appointed to consider and report how a substitute for the old Association might be formed without infringing the law.

The "Algerine Act" prohibited any meeting or association to assemble for redress of grievances of any kind in Church or State; or for petitioning on political subjects; or for the prosecution or defence of civil causes; or for alteration of matters established by law in Church or State, or for the continuance of the Association sittings by adjournment beyond fourteen days. This law prevented the weekly meetings of the Association, because that body included in its discussions every grievance, social and political, of which the country complained. The new Association had to be established ostensibly for other objects, such as education, the burial of the dead, &c.; but the country well understood that these were only pretences to avoid the provisions of the "Algerine Act."

An aggregate meeting was held on the 13th of July to receive the report of the committee appointed at the meeting of June the 8th. This report, which was prepared by O'Connell, said, that the committee were resolved "to obey a statute they could not respect," but that they were convinced a new Association might be formed, which would combine and consolidate the constitutional resources of the Catholic body, without in any degree infringing the act recently passed by the Legislature, for the suppression of dangerous societies. That in order to avoid the possibility of its being alleged, even by means of any perverse interpretation of the Acts

George IV., cap. 4, that the new Association can come within the provisions thereof, it was expressly declared, that the new Catholic Association should not assume, or in any manner exercise, the power of acting for the purpose, or under the pretence of procuring the redress of grievances in Church or State, or the alteration of any matters by law established, or for the purpose, or under pretence of carrying on, or assisting in, the prosecution or defence of causes civil and criminal.

That the new Catholic Association should not be composed of different divisions or *branches*, or of different parts, acting in any manner separate or distinct from each other, and that there should be no separate or distinct secretary or delegate, or other officer elected or appointed by, or authorised to act for, any particular part; neither should the new Catholic Association communicate or correspond with any other society, committee, or body of persons; neither should it, in any respect, act in any manner inconsistently with the said statute of 6 Geo. IV., cap. 4.

The new Catholic Association should be formed merely for the purposes of public or private charity, and such other purposes as are not prohibited by the statute of 6 Geo. IV., cap. 4. The objects of the Association were declared to be:—(1). The promotion of public peace and concord. (2) The encouragement of an enlightened and religious system of education, founded on the basis of Christian Charity and perfect fair dealing. (3). The distinctive enumeration of the people according to their various creeds, and the number of children of each sect receiving education. (4). The rendering of aid in the erection of places of Catholic worship,

and interment of the dead. (5). The promotion of improvements in native agriculture and manufactures; and (6) finally, the diffusion of information calculated to advance the cause of religious toleration, and the support of a Liberal Press. For the future, petitions to Parliament were to be adopted at separate local meetings, instead of emanating, as heretofore, from a central body.

The report was subscribed by Lords Gormanstown and Killeen, the Hons. G. French, and T. Preston, Sir John Burke, O'Conor Don, Daniel O'Connell, Richard Sheil, J. J. Bagot, &c. The report was of course unanimously adopted, and in accordance with it, the first meeting of the Catholic Association was held in the Corn Exchange, on the 16th of July, 1825. Mr. O'Connell said there were ninety-six individuals already composing the new Association, and that there were enough to proceed to business, which they accordingiy did. And thus did the unrivalled Irish legal whip, Daniel O'Connell, drive his well known coach and six through the "Algerine Act."

Mr. Sheil's important share in this revival must not be overlooked; two most effective movements, the Sectarian census, and later, the simultaneous meetings, were suggested by him.*

Notwithstanding the time O'Connell devoted to politics, his business went on increasing, and his legal reputation with it. This year he went special four different circuits, outside his own, and wherever he went he met with public receptions, and public meetings were held. It was about this period

* See *Dublin Evening Post.* "Memoirs of Richard L. Sheil." By Torrens M'Cullagh. Vol. i., p. 251, et seqq., "Huish's Memoirs of O'Connell," p. 388, &c.

that two very characteristic incidents occurred; one showing how readily he caught up the points of the most intricate case, and the other, the strong *esprit de corps* he felt as a Catholic. He was called rather suddenly into court by the agent of his clients, in a case in which they were defendants. When he came in, and without opening his brief-bag, ascertained the leading particulars, he at once proceeded to argue for a non-suit. His argument was so conclusive, that he succeeded, to the great joy of the respectable solicitor by whom he was employed; and who expressed to him his gratification at such unexpected success. "I have not been paid my fee in this case," said O'Connell—"That is singular, for I left it with the brief at your lodgings," replied the attorney—"I never received it," and he was about to express some doubt of the solicitor's statement, when he was informed by a friend, that the gentleman who made it, was incapable of speaking an untruth. He instantly took a pen and wrote on the brief a receipt for his fee, and then gave the document to the solicitor, who immediately opened it, and attached to the first sheet was a five pound note. This at once proved that the brief was never opened; and there was instantly a shout at O'Connell, who took the fee and acknowledged the justice of the impeachment.

The other instance referred to was this—On a certain occasion, Baron ——— was charging the jury in a criminal case. He was commenting on the evidence of the principal witness, and, reading from his notes, he said that the witness had gone from "his barn to the Mass-house." "My Lord," said O'Connell, interrupting him, "he never said *any such* thing." "He did," replied the judge,

testily, "I have the words on my notes." "My Lord, the witness is a Catholic, and no Catholic would make use of an expression of insult in reference to the house of worship, where he adores his God. I repeat, and insist on it, he never used the term Mass-House." "My Lord," said one of the jury, "it was 'chapel' he said." "How then, comes Mass-House on my notes?" "It was suggested, my Lord, by the bias of your lordship's mind towards the religion of six millions of your countrymen," was O'Connell's severe rejoinder.*

In the beginning of the year 1826, the fourteen days' meetings were held in Dublin—which were repeated at the beginning of each year until Emancipation—the "Algerine Act," as we have seen, made it criminal to continue a meeting beyond fourteen days, which suggested the holding of meetings for fourteen *continuous* days. The idea was new, such a session looked like a little Parliament, and was most successful. Lord Gormanstown filled the chair on the first day; Lord Fingal was too old and too infirm to attend. Lord French presided on the second day; Lord Killeen on the third. Then, in succession, the Hon. Mr. Preston, the Hon. Gonville Ffrench, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Sir Edward Bellew, the Hon. Thomas Browne, Thomas Wyse, Esq., Sir John Burke, the Hon. Col. Butler, &c., &c.

The great event of the year 1826, was the general election. The speeches in the Catholic Association; the numerous public meetings throughout the country; and, no doubt, the attempt to disfranchise them, the previous year, stirred up the forty shilling

* "Fagan." Vol. 1, p. 444-5.

freeholders to patriotic feelings, and a consequent determination to act with independance at the hustings. The wonderful influence of constitutional agitation upon the masses, was never more manifest than upon this memorable occasion. The most powerful Tory families in the country fell prostrate before the spirit that had been awakened. Mr. Dawson, a retired barrister of small fortune, who could be scarcely called a *county man*, was returned for Louth, in spite of the combined efforts of the Leslies and the Joceylins, the two most powerful families in it, who had divided its representation between them, as a matter of course, for half a century and more—yet Dawson was returned by a majority of three hundred votes! the Leslies were beaten in Monaghan, and, far more remarkable still, the son of the founder of Orangeism, Colonel Verner, was defeated in Armagh by a convert from Orange principles to liberality—Charles Brownlow, afterwards Lord Lurgan. He was nicknamed by his late Orange brethren "Weathercock Charley," and no effort within the power of Orange nature was left untried to place him in a minority, yet he succeeded, and he and the Honorable Colonel Caulfield, two Emancipators, were seated for Armagh.

Such a triumph in a northern and highly Orange county, was astonishing; and yet there was a triumph in one of our southern counties—Waterford—still more marvellous. No family in Ireland held a county with such perfect security as the Beresfords held Waterford. Nothing but the very height of enthusiastic, disinterested, self-sacrificing patriotism could dislodge them; but even that rare *quality* was evoked in 1826. At a Catholic meeting

held in Dublin after the Waterford election, O'Connell thus spoke of the Beresfords:—"They were the autocrats of the county. They enjoyed a large and vast fortune. They had on their own domains registered votes to the number of eight hundred—a fearful majority in a county where the entire number did not exceed three thousand. The Marquis of Waterford commenced his preparations for the contest two years previously. He began by forgiving arrears of rent to a large amount. Long before the commencement of the elections he had expended £4,400, and at the conclusion of his disastrous defeat, his expenses amounted to at least £100,000. And what, after all this mighty preparation, was he now? To use the language of the honest fishermen of Dungarvan, he was like a sea-calf on the shore with the tide out, slashing and bedaubing all about him, while he was himself stranded and wrecked for ever. The tenantry of his own estates were sufficient to have beaten him. His very gardener and stewart voted against him, and for their liberty, their religion, and their country. His labourers told him they preferred poverty and destruction sooner than vote against their consciences and religion. An individual named Casey, found seventy sovereigns placed in his hand, on condition that he would return home and not vote at all. Seventy sovereigns would be wealth to such a man; but if seventy millions had been offered to him on the same conditions, the honest man would have spurned the base offer."

Parliament was dissolved the first week in June, and election addresses were immediately flying over the country—in fact, many were published

the account of the proceedings, Casey, the Clonmel Blacksmith; perhaps, too, he was the Casey who was offered the seventy guineas to go home. O'Connell was seconded by a cousin of Casey's. He spoke with great effect for about two hours, and *naively* concluded—"There is so much excitement with respect to politics and religion prevailing in the county, that, anxious for the public peace, I beg to decline the honour proposed me of standing for the County of Waterford" (laughter and cheers).

The result of the poll left Lord George in an astounding minority. It stood thus, independent of disputed votes:—Power, 1,172; Stuart, 1,112; Lord G. Beresford, 501 !*

No wonder that the first sentence in the *Evening Post's* correspondence from Waterford, immediately after the election was—"*Io, Triumphe!* The Beresfords are gone! Gone for ever! Let it be proclaimed throughout the empire—The mighty are down before the breath of the people."†

* The final sum total of the poll is thus given by Mr. Wyse:—Power, 1,424; Stuart, 1,357; Lord G. Beresford, 528. *Hist. Cath. Association. Appendix*, cxxxviii.

† *Dublin Evening Post*, July 1, 1826.

Sheil told the following story after the election. The Marquis of Waterford had a favourite old huntsman, named Manton. He heard that he, too, was going to vote against Lord George. He summoned him to the side of his sick bed. "Manton," he said, feebly, "have you, too, abandoned me?" "God bless your honour, and long life to you," said the huntsman. There was a long pause. "Have *you*, too, abandoned me, Manton?" "I'd go to the world's end to serve your honour—but—but, please your lordship, I cannot vote against my country and my religion." He and his family were disinherited. A few days afterwards *the Marquis* left Curraghmore, never to see it again.

In this year O'Connell established what he called "The New Catholic Rent;" a fund exclusively intended for the protection of persecuted tenants who had voted according to their conscience at the general election. The old Catholic rent continued to be collected and handed in as usual, with the saving clause, "for all purposes not prohibited by law." He also instituted *The Order of Liberators*, from which his title of Liberator is derived. It was modelled on existing orders of Knighthood:—(1)—It had Liberators; (2)—Knights Grand Cross; (3)—Knights Companions. The title on which a person would be admitted to any of those grades, was to be, the doing of some real service to his country. Lord Cloncurry was the Grand Master. In originating the new Catholic rent, O'Connell, in the letter he addressed to the people, signed himself, "DANIEL O'CONNELL, *of the Order of Liberators.*"

He died in a short time at Carmarthen, his death having been evidently hastened by the crushing political defeat which his family had suffered.

Street ballads are always regarded as fair weapons in contested elections. Yet a poor man was committed to prison, by the Waterford Magistrates, for singing one that was harmless enough, and which he said he had composed himself. In the first part of it, Lord George Beresford was represented as denouncing the Irish—priests and people—to the King, which, in fact, he did in his address. The second part ran thus:—

"Now passing by very nigh,
Villiers Stuart heard him talking;
He told the King 'twas no such thing,
And said he'd send Lord George a-walking.
His blood did rise to hear such lies
Told about the priests and people,
But he'll oppose old Ireland's foes,
And hang them on the highest steeple."

Towards the close of 1826, the Duke of York took dangerously ill, and died on the 5th of January, 1827. He was the most powerful political enemy the Catholics had, and his death was, therefore, regarded as opening the way to Emancipation. O'Connell, with that prudence which seldom deserted him, and with that largeness of heart which was a part of his nature, instead of exulting over the event, said a few kind words of the departed prince; while Sheil, when his death was only approaching, made it the subject of one of his severest phillipics, at a banquet in Mullingar. In the new Catholic Association he repeated the attack, but, apparently thinking he had gone too far on the former occasion, he also alluded to some of the Duke's good qualities. He was found great fault with for both speeches; they were ill-judged, certainly, and injured the Catholic cause. Besides, the attack was heartless and unmanly, for no brave man exults over an enemy, when the hand of death is upon him. But Sheil was essentially dramatic and sensational, and he could not resist what seemed to him a striking opportunity for the display of his peculiar powers.

Another important personage was removed from the scene soon after the Duke of York. Lord Liverpool closed by death, early in 1827, a premiership of fifteen years. He was succeeded as first minister by George Canning, his foreign secretary; who, although a member of a Tory Administration, was a liberal enlightened man, and always the friend and supporter of Catholic Emancipation; for which reasons the Tories—more especially the Tory aristocracy—had a great dislike to serve under *him. They* tried hard to get some other premier, *but Canning* ambitioned the post, and refused to

join any ministry of which he was not the head. The words attributed to him at the time were—"I'll either go *up* or go *out*." He went *up*, but his tormentors made the place intolerable to him; and their vile press even attacked his family most unjustly, for, by the male side, he had descended from a long line of highly respectable ancestors, although his father married somewhat beneath him. When he died, the following August, the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William the Fourth), is reported to have said—"They have killed him. I knew they would kill him."* He meant the Tory aristocracy had killed him.

It was some consolation to the admirers of that distinguished statesman, that the same supercilious, and, for the most part, empty-headed aristocrats, had soon to bend the knee to the cotton-spinner's son, and later on, they were constrained to do it to the lineal descendant and "heir-at-law" of the "impenitent thief," to whom they are constrained to do it still.

The Canning ministry was patched up after his death, Viscount Goderich becoming premier. It was feeble from the first, and only endured until January, 1828, a period of about five months. In the same month and year was formed the Wellington-Peel administration, which carried the Catholic Relief Bill fourteen months after its formation.

In April, 1827, the six days' discussion between the Rev. Richard T. P. Pope, and the Rev. Thomas Maguire, was held in Dublin. It arose out of the "New Reformation" movement. Mr. Pope and his party could not be expected to acknowledge defeat

on the occasion; but the discussion gave the *coup de grace* to the New Reformation, for all that; and those itinerant polemics who swaggered through the land, sending their challenges before them, as travelling show-men do their bills, found their occupation gone, and so had to retire from that line of business. There were two chairmen appointed each day of the discussion; O'Connell was Father Maguire's chairman on the first day.

CHAPTER VI.

Bold Resolution of the Catholics—The Clare Election—O'Connell's Address to the Electors—Speeches—Canvassing—Anecdotes—Progress of the Voting—Close of the Poll—O'Connell's first Frank—Speech of "Derry" Dawson—"Jack" Lawless's Mission to the North—The Duke of Wellington's letter to the Most Rev. Dr. Curtis—The Marquis of Anglesey recalled—The "Catholic Relief Bill"—Large Majorities in both Houses for it—O'Connell at the Bar of the House—The "Doneraile Conspiracy."

The eventful year of 1828, now claims our attention.

As in the two or three previous years, the political campaign began with the fourteen days' meetings, during which Sheil's proposal for simultaneous meetings was brought forward and adopted. Two thousand meetings were convened for the 13th of January, and it was computed that five millions of people attended them; the numbers could not, of course, be ascertained with accuracy; but what was *beyond all doubt*, the whole of Catholic Ireland met

on the same day, at the same hour, and with the same object—to demand their rights.

Catholic Church Wardens were also appointed at this time, and their duties assigned them. Each Churchwarden received, gratis, from the Catholic Association, a copy of the *Weekly Register*.

At an aggregate meeting held in Dublin in February, the Catholics of Ireland adopted this bold resolution :—"That we will consider any Irish member an enemy to the peace of Ireland, who shall not declare his determination not to support any administration who shall not make Catholic Emancipation a Cabinet measure." The Catholic question was brought before Parliament in May, but the people did not watch its progress with the absorbing interest of previous years; they had lost confidence in Parliament, and began every day more and more to confide in themselves—their organization—their unanimity—their electoral strength—aye, and their physical strength, too. The bill got a first reading in the Commons by the narrow majority of SIX; it was equal to a defeat; at which the Lords took courage and threw it out by a majority of FORTY-FOUR. On this occasion the Duke of Wellington coolly and patronisingly told the Catholics to desist from agitation, as their only chance of having their claims favourably considered; to which their answer was—THE CLARE ELECTION.

The necessity of a Catholic being returned to Parliament whilst the penal law excluding Catholics was still in force, was, for a long time, John Keogh's idea. Taking into account the nature of the English mind, he believed this palpable way was the true way to put before it, the tyranny under which *the Catholics* suffered. When the Catholic who

would be returned, was rejected at the bar of the House, because he refused to take an oath, which it was wickedly absurd to expect him to take, the practical, constitutional-minded people of England would see and feel, how unjust a thing it was to *disfranchise* a constituency, because the man of their choice would not swear *his own religion was* DAMNABLE AND IDOLATROUS! Such was John Keogh's view; it was the view of a clear, keen intellect O'Connell, perhaps, never heard of the idea at all · it certainly does not seem to have occurred to him, that the thing was feasible, until it was put before him in 1828.

Sir David Roose, who had been High Sheriff of Dublin the previous year, and a Tory in principles, save when O'Connell was personally in question, when, for solid reasons, his views were essentially modified, met P. V. Fitzpatrick, at seven o'clock on the morning of the 22nd of June, in Nassau-street, and started the idea that O'Connell ought to offer himself for Clare. Roose was, unquestionably, the first suggester of this important movement, and Fitzpatrick the first to whom it was communicated. It happened by an extraordinary coincidence, that, when about twenty years of age, Mr. Fitzpatrick frequently accompanied his father, Mr. Hugh Fitzpatrick, to visit John Keogh, of Mount Jerome, who, on these occasions, made it a point to impress upon Mr. Fitzpatrick his strong conviction, that the return of one of their own body to Parliament, was a condition that would be found almost indispensable to the achievement of Emancipation, and for the reasons given above. Fitzpatrick, remembering what he had heard Keogh say so often, flew to *O'Connell,* and impressed upon him the necessity of

allowing himself to be put forward. He at length succeeded in bringing him to the office of the *Evening Post*, where on Tuesday, the 24th of June, the address was written in his presence, and that of William Frederick Conway, before ever the Catholic Association was made aware of it.*

Immediately after, O'Connell declared publicly that if no other candidate would go forward, he would go himself. Five thousand pounds were voted by the Association, as a first instalment towards the expenses of the election; and it being ascertained beyond question that M'Namara declined the contest, O'Connell at once came forward amidst the utmost enthusiasm, and addressed the electors of Clare. But election expenses in these times were very heavy, and O'Connell's purse could not, to any appreciable extent, sustain a contest for so vast a county as Clare. Fitzpatrick undertook to sound the wealthy Catholics on this essential point, and £1,600 were subscribed in a single day by sixteen leading Catholics. The country followed the example, and £14,000 was raised in a week, and money continued to flow in during the contest in great abundance. Cork city subscribed £1,000 in an incredibly short time.†

On the day of his departure for Clare, O'Connell's carriage and four horses drove into the east yard of the Four Courts about two o'clock, at which time

* The writing of this address is the subject of a very spirited picture by Haverty.

† The boldness of the Clare-election-move amazed and stunned the Orange faction. "Mr. O'Connell, a Member of Parliament, indeed!" said the *Evening Mail*, with a sad, feeble attempt at a sneer. Its kind patronising grief over the subscriptions raised in Dublin for the expenses of the

he was engaged in an important law argument When it was over he took off his wig and gown, stepped into his carriage and drove off, receiving from lawyers and clients a perfect ovation. Every one wished him "God speed," and for a considerable time the courts were perfectly deserted.*

The following is his election address. It appeared for the first time in the *Dublin Evening Post* of June the 24th, but has no date whatever attached to itself. It was undoubtedly written on that day in the office of the *Evening Post* :—

contest, is funny reading now, and was, indeed, laughable at the time. "In Dublin," wrote the *Mail-man* of that day, "threats of the most unequivocal nature are used, for the purpose of terrifying moderate Roman Catholics into subscriptions for this nefarious object; and persons who detest the present proceeding, and despise the man, reluctantly subscribe their money, to preserve, perhaps, their lives." (!!!)

* See Fagan. Vol. i. pp. 554 et seqq. The *Evening Post* says he took his seat on the box, which no doubt he did, for such was his habit.

MR. VESEY FITZGERALD TO MR. PEEL.

(No date.)

"My dear Peel,

I fear it will be a tremendous contest. You will judge of the spirit of this country, and of what I have to encounter, from the paper which I enclose you. An ineffectual attempt was made to resist Mr. O'Connell, but all were borne down by the violence of the meeting." *Sir Robert Peel's Memoirs. Published by the Trustees of his Papers.* Vol. 1., p. 109.

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNY OF CLARE.

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

"Your County wants a representative. I respectfully solicit your suffrages to raise me to that station.

"Of my qualifications to fill that station I leave you to judge. The habits of public speaking, and many, many years of public business, render me, perhaps, equally suited with most men to attend to the interests of Ireland in Parliament.

"You will be told I am not qualified to be elected. The assertion, my friends, is untrue. I am qualified to be elected, and to be your representative. It is true that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will, take the oaths at present prescribed to members of Parliament; but the authority which created these oaths (the Parliament) can abrogate them; and I entertain a confident hope that, if you elect me, the most bigoted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his King and to his country.

"The oath at present required by law is, 'that the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and other Saints, as now practised in the Church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous.' Of course I will never stain my soul with such an oath. I leave that to my honourable opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. He has often taken that horrible oath. He is ready to take it *again*, and asks your votes to enable him so to

swear. I would rather be torn limb from limb than take it. Electors of the County of Clare! choose between me, who abominate that oath, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald who has sworn it full twenty times! Return me to Parliament, and it is probable that such a blasphemous oath will be abolished for ever. As your representative, I will try the question with the friends in Parliament of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. They may send me to prison. I am ready to go there, to promote the cause of the Catholics, and of universal liberty. The discussion which the attempt to exclude your representative from the House of Commons must excite, will create a sensation all over Europe, and produce such a burst of contemptuous indignation against British bigotry, in every enlightened country in the world, that the voice of all the great and good in England, Scotland, and Ireland, being joined to the universal shout of the nations of the earth, will overpower every opposition, and render it impossible for Peel and Wellington any longer to close the doors of the constitution against the Catholics of Ireland.

"Electors of the County of Clare! Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald claims, as his only merit, that he is a friend to the Catholics. Why, I am a Catholic myself; and if he be sincerely our friend, let him vote for me, and raise before the British Empire the Catholic question in my humble person in the way most propitious to my final success. But no, fellow-countrymen, no; he will make no sacrifice to that cause; he will call himself your friend, and act the part of your worst and most unrelenting enemy.

"I do not like to give the epitome of his political *life; yet,* when the present occasion so loudly calls

for it, I cannot refrain. He took office under Perceval—under that Perceval who obtained power by raising the base, bloody, and unchristian cry of 'NoPopery,' in England.

"He had the nomination of a member to serve for the Borough of Ennis. He nominated Mr. Spencer Perceval, then a decided opponent of the Catholics.

"He voted on the East Retford measure—for a measure that would put two virulent enemies of the Catholics into Parliament.

"In the case of the Protestant Dissenters in England he voted for their exclusion—that is, against the principle of the freedom of conscience; that sacred principle which the Catholics of Ireland have ever cultivated and cherished, on which we framed our rights to Emancipation.

"Finally, he voted for the suppression of the Catholic Association of Ireland!

"And, after this—sacred Heaven! he calls himself a friend to the Catholics.

"He is the ally and colleague of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel. He is their partner in power; they are, you know, the most bitter, persevering, and unmitigated enemies of the Catholics; and after all this, he, the partner of our bitterest and unrelenting enemies, calls himself the friend of the Catholics of Ireland.

"Having thus traced a few of the demerits of my honourable opponent, what shall I say for myself?

"I appeal to my past life, for my unremitting and disinterested attachment to the religion and liberties of Catholic Ireland.

"If you return me to Parliament, I pledge

myself to vote for every measure favourable to Radical Reform in the representative system, so that the House of Commons may truly, as our Catholic ancestors intended it should do, represent all the people.

"To vote for the repeal of the Vestry Bill, the Subletting Act, and the Grand Jury Laws.

"To vote for the diminution and more equal distribution of the overgrown wealth of the Established Church in Ireland, so that the surplus may be restored to the sustentation of the poor, the aged, and the infirm.

"To vote for every measure of retrenchment and reduction of the national expenditure, so as to relieve the people from the burdens of taxation, and to bring the question of the Repeal of The Union, at the earliest possible period, before the consideration of the Legislature.

"Electors of the County of Clare! choose between me and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald; choose between him who so long cultivated his own interest, and one who seeks only to advance yours; choose between the sworn libeller of the Catholic faith, and one who has devoted his early life to your cause, who has consumed his manhood in a struggle for your liberties, and who has ever lived, and is ready to die for the integrity, the honour, the purity, of the Catholic faith, and the promotion of Irish freedom and happiness.

"Your faithful Servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

O'Connell left Dublin on the evening of Saturday the 28th of June, and arrived in Ennis on the

following Monday morning, at the very unseasonable hour of two o'clock; yet, even at that hour, the Trades of Ennis, who had notice of his coming, met him in procession and gave him a triumphant entry.* He had to appear on the hustings the same day at eleven o'clock. The High-Sheriff, who was the friend of Vesey Fitzgerald, contrary to prearrangement, opened the court-house before that hour, clearly in the hope of packing it with Mr. Fitzgerald's supporters; and when O'Connell entered at eleven, he indignantly called his attention to the fact, and the Sheriff apologised.

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald was proposed by Sir Edward O'Brien, of Dromoland, and seconded by Sir Augustus Fitzgerald. O'Connell was proposed by O'Gorman Mahon, and seconded by Tom Steele, both Claremen.

Mr. Gore, a Clare gentleman and a barrister, asked leave to address the constituency before the candidates, to which O'Connell readily consented, luckily for himself, but very unluckily for Mr. Gore, for O'Connell made that gentleman's speech a text for his own, and his well-known power in reply was never more manifest than on this occasion.

* Before his departure he received a most affectionate letter from the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, in which this passage occurs:—"Farewell, my dear friend, may the God of Truth and justice protect and prosper you. I shall be most happy to hear of your progress, and will always be ready to contribute everything in my power, to sustain, in your person, the cause of the Civil and Religious Liberties of our oppressed fellow-countrymen."

"Dr. Doyle's letter to Mr. O'Connell is most mischievous—I, however, still hope that most of the other Bishops set their faces against his proceedings." *Lord Anglesey to Mr. Peel, June* 28, 1828. *Memoirs of Sir R. Peel*, published by the Trustees of his Papers. Vol. i., p. 134.

He began his address to the electors prettily. "I have been taunted," he said, "with offering myself for the county Clare, instead of doing so for my native wilds of Kerry. Liberty is a mountain nymph, and she adorns the hills of Kerry, and with her presence she adds to the beauty of the plains of Clare." Mr. Gore had charged him with betraying the forty-shilling freeholders, to which he replied: "For the purpose of carrying Emancipation, and to conciliate (which I had always been, and am now ready to do), I consented to the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, because I then thought they consisted of nothing more than the property of their landlords; and I was of opinion that it would be impossible to free them from the influence of their landlords. I now want to know whether the forty-shilling freeholders of Clare are the *slaves* of their landlords (loud cheers). Are they, like the negroes, to be lashed by their torturers to the slave mart, and sold to the highest bidder? This experiment I am about to make. I want to know will Mr. Gore, who brings forward the accusation, punish them if they dare to act otherwise than if they were slaves (loud cheers). It was a fault in me to have consented to their disfranchisement; but I have made full and ample reparation, and sooner now would I shed the last drop of my blood than consent to their disfranchisement." He spoke of his losses as a barrister on account of being a Catholic. "The law," he continued, "did not prevent him [Mr. Gore] from rising, but his want of talent did. And am I now to be subjected to the taunts of a briefless barrister, and a bigot without business? Of what use is my success

to me? I have wept over my lot in private, for I never shed my tears in public; and should I not deplore the cruel fate which places the Gores and other Protestants above me, in my native land."

O'Connell closed his address with the following telling story: "Women of Clare, you who are as honest as you are pretty, and more beauty never shone upon your sex than is to be found in this county, I will tell you what happened to myself in Waterford. It was about this day twelvemonths that I was with Mr. Stuart, when a young woman came up to us and kissed both our hands, and then said, 'Am not I the girl' (loud laughter)? 'You are, indeed,' said I, 'very handsome, and as proper, I am certain, as you are handsome.' 'Oh,' said she, 'my father and my brother did not intend to go vote in this election. I have ever since my mother's, death taken care of my father's seven children, and I went down on my knees to them, and said that, much as I loved my little brothers and sisters, I would abandon them for ever, if they did not come forward and do their duty to their country' (cheers). She then showed me her father and brother; the brother was a fine security for three Orangemen (laughter). I told her she acted a noble part. 'Oh,' said she, 'that my poor mother, that is in her grave, could see me this day, she would say with joy, that her daughter had acted well' (loud cheers). Fathers, sons, brothers, honest women of Clare, will you support the sworn friend and kissing companion of Peel and Wellington, or will you support me? I come not here on my own account, but yours. I am not fighting my own, but the Catholic cause."

O'Connell never showed his knowledge of the

Irish heart more thoroughly than in the above story.

A show of hands being called for, the special correspondent of the *Dublin Evening Post* says, about *fifteen* were held up for the President of the Board of Trade, and about *fifteen hundred* for the "Man of the People."

The show of hands being for O'Connell, the sheriff hesitated to declare him elected, and began to consult his assessor. On being asked why he did not declare O'Connell elected, he said: "I do not know if those people are freeholders."

O'Connell.—"Sir, you do not know that they are *not*, and you cannot, by your word, disfranchise them."

He then declared O'Connell elected by the show of hands, and, of course, a poll was demanded by the other side. This was on Monday. On Wednesday night, the 2nd of July, O'Connell declared the state of the poll thus: O'Connell, 850; Vesey Fitzgerald, 538; majority for O'Connell, 312. He then told them the election was virtually over. He added: "At the next meeting of the Cabinet there will be one member of that Cabinet missing, and some person may say with truth:—

> 'Lost or mislaid,
> Stolen or strayed,
> The Right Honourable
> The President of the Board of Trade.'"

The voting went on to Saturday, O'Connell's majority hourly increasing. The final numbers were—

> O'Connell, 2,057;
> V. Fitzgeral, 982.

O'Connell was thus returned for Clare by a majority of 1,075, in a constituency not numbering much beyond 3,000 voters; so that every available voter in the vast county of Clare seems to have voted on the occasion.*

Two things were insisted on by O'Connell as essential to success: (1) That no friend of his should enter a public house during the election; (2) That no friend of his should return any insult he might receive during the election. Both pledges were kept in a marvellous manner. The correspondent of the *Evening Post*, writing in the heat of the contest, says: "I have not seen a man go near a public house for two days."

Afterwards O'Connell himself used to illustrate the second pledge by the story of Sheedy M'Namara. Sheedy was a pugnacious man enough, as many Clare men were at the time, but he was a determined O'Connellite, and took both pledges conscientiously. During the election, a supporter of Vesey Fitzgerald's, insulted him; but, suppressing his wrath, and stepping back a pace or two from the

* MR. VESEY FITZGERALD TO MR. PEEL.

"Ennis, July 5th, 1828 (at night).

"MY DEAR PEEL,

"The election, thank God, is over, and I do feel happy in its being terminated, notwithstanding its result. I have polled the gentry and all the fifty-pound freeholders —the gentry to a man . . . . All the great interests broke down, and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we have had! Such a tremendous prospect as opens before us!" "A prospect tremendous, indeed!" Repeats Sir Robert Peel, in a note to this letter.—*Sir Robert Peel's Memoirs*. Published by the Trustees of his papers. Vol. i., p. 115.

offender, he said, with solemn earnestness, "See! I have one little pig at home, and I'll sell him, and give you the price of him, if you repeat that the day after the election."*

During O'Connell's canvas, Ned Hickman, a Clare man of considerable property, and a facetious lawyer, threatened to shoot him, if he attempted to canvas one of his tenants. O'Connell told him, in the most determined and solemn manner, that he would canvas every one of them; and he did. The same day he was conducted by some of his friends to where a large body of them were assembled, and where their landlord was addressing them in accents of very unusual palaver. "Boys," he would say, "am I not one of the best landlords in Clare? Have I ever distressed you? Don't I clothe the children of those poor fellows who can't afford it? Don't I educate them? &c.; and will you now desert me?"

O'Connell addressed them in the very teeth of Hickman, amid rapturous shouts. "Boys," said he, "all these things this excellent gentleman has said to you, I know to be true, as you do. He's a most estimable person, a good landlord, and he has told you a great deal of what is true; but he

* "Before the election was over the very military who were sent to keep good order at Ennis, were converted by the good humour and good conduct of the peasantry, into enthusiastic friends. They frequently cheered each other as they passed along. When O'Connell, during his chairing, passed by the Infirmary barracks at Ennis, he called upon his supporters to salute the officers. 'Take off your hats, my friends,' said he, 'and salute the officers of the bravest army in the world.'"—*History of the Catholic Association.* By Thomas Wyse, jun., Esq. Vol. i., p. 388.

hasn't told you one thing—sure, boys, he's the greatest playactor in the world (roars of laughter). And, sure, you all know what a play actor can do. He can pretend to be what he isn't at all. Now that is what Mr. Ned Hickman is about. He's well aware that every one of you is determined to vote for me, but he wants to keep square with Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, and that's what makes him play off the farce."

Every sentence was followed by roars of laughter and applause, and the ruined Hickman retired in a state of furious indignation.

"The moment the sheriff signed the return, a gentleman on the hustings asked O'Connell for a frank. It was directed to a friend of the writer of this Memoir, residing in London. The day he received it he happened to be in the House of Lords, engaged in an appeal case. The frank went round amongst their lordships. Some said it was impossible—that no sheriff would sign a Catholic's return to parliament—that it must be a forgery; others, wiser in their generation, saw in it the coming events; and when the writing on the frank was recognized, read in it, as if in mystic characters, the Act of Emancipation. The frank afterwards found its way to the King's presence. The fact is, that for one month at least it was, to the possessor, a most inconvenient property, from the intense anxiety of the sight-loving Londoners to get a glimpse of it.*

At the close of the election, O'Connell was chaired through Ennis. It was computed that the chairing was witnessed by sixty thousand persons; His

* "Fagan's Life of O'Connell."

journey back to Dublin was one continuous triumph; thousands formed his guard of honour, as he moved along. It was said that forty thousand men entered Limerick with him, fifteen thousand of whom were mounted. EMANCIPATION WAS WON.*

O'Connell was returned for Clare on the 5th of July. During the next month—August—Mr. Dawson, the member for Derry, made a speech to his Orange constituents, which at once challenged the attention of the Empire. He was the brother-in-law of Peel, and the friend of Wellington, under whom he held office; it was, therefore, at once seen that Mr. Dawson was sent forth as a "pilot balloon" to indicate the course the Government intended to take, and to prepare the Orange mind for it. He disclaimed this, but no one believed him. His speech was received by his Orange brethren with hisses and uproar. Of the existing condition of the country, he said:—"The state of Ireland is an anomaly in the history of civilized nations—it has no parallel in ancient or modern history; and being contrary to the character of all civil institutions, it must terminate in general anarchy and confusion. The peace of Ireland depends not upon the Government of the King, but upon the dictation of the Catholic Association. (Loud cries of "more's the shame." "Why not put it down?")—It has defied

* O'Connell, Steele, and O'Gorman Mahon, entered the Court-house of Ennis, wearing the scarf of the "Order of Liberators." Mr. Molony, the High-Shariff, called on Mr. Mahon to remove his scarf, as being the insignia of party; but that gentleman, in a defiant speech, refused to do so. O'Connell said, green was not a party, but the national colour; however, with his usual good sense, he removed his "out of respect for the Sheriff," and advised his young friend to do the same

the Government, and trampled upon the law of the land—and it is beyond contradiction, that the same power which banished a cabinet minister from the representation of his county, because he was a minister of the King, can maintain or disturb the peace of the country, just as it suits their caprice or ambition." "So perfect a system of organization was never yet achieved by any body not posessing the legitimate powers of Government; it is powerful, it is arrogant, it derides, and it has triumphed over the enactments of the Legislature, and is filling its coffers from the voluntary contributions of the people." (Uproar, cries of "No, they are not voluntary.")

Again—"And now, gentlemen, it is time to ask ourselves the question, what must be the result of such a disordered state of things, and such a complete overthrow of all the relations of society? Some gentlemen will say, rebellion—and the sooner it comes, the sooner we shall be able to crush it. (Loud cheers, which lasted for several minutes). Now, I entertain a very different opinion—it is not the interest, and I believe it is not the wish, of the Roman Catholic leaders to drive the people into rebellion. (Hisses)—We have the best security for the purity of their intentions, (hisses) in that respect, in the stake which they hold in the country, and in the moral conviction that they would be the first victims of a rebellion. (Loud cries from several voices, "no, no, we would be the first.") If a rebellion should take place, it will not be from the orders or example of the Roman Catholic leaders—(hisses), but from the readiness of the two contending parties to come into conflict with each other, and from the total impossibility of checking the

enclosing back the Duke of Wellington's letter, which Dr. Curtis had sent to him. The Marquis's letter, although marked "private and confidential," had got into the newspapers. (5)—That the Marquis's son and some of his staff appeared in the Catholic Association. The Marquis warmly defended himself both by letter and in the House of Lords. The reason he gave for his son and some members of his staff going to the Catholic Association, is amusing. He told them in the House of Lords that the Association was one of the "lions" of Dublin, and that they went to see it, just as they would go to the Zoological Gardens, or any other such public place. In the Parliamentary Session of 1828, a measure for a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, both affecting Dissenters, was introduced by Lord John Russell, and accepted by the Government; it became law. O'Connell gave this measure all the support in his power; he got up a monster petition in its favour, to which some hundreds of thousands of Catholic signatures were attached. He did this, no doubt, as a sincere supporter of Civil and Religious Liberty; but with his keen penetration, he must have also seen that it would be the forerunner of Emancipation. A man of a different stamp, Lord Eldon, saw it, and said, with sorrow.—"Sooner or later, perhaps in this very year, almost certainly in the next, the concessions to the Dissenters must be followed by the like concessions to the Roman Catholics. That seems unavoidable, though at present the policy is to conceal this additional purpose."—*Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, by M. Guizot*, p. 38.

On his departure, the Marquis was accompanied to Kingstown by a vast concourse of people, who

formed a procession, which, although somewhat irregular, was very splendid and imposing. On the 6th of March, 1829, the Duke of Northumberland succeeded him in the Vice-Royalty.

Parliament met on the 5th of February; the King's speech was read by Commission. The last part of it referred to this country in the following terms :—

"The state of Ireland has been the object of his Majesty's continued solicitude. His Majesty laments that in that part of the United Kingdom, an Association should still exist, dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution; which keep alive discord and ill-will amongst his Majesty's subjects, and which might, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland." He then expresses a hope that Parliament will commit to him such powers as may enable him to maintain his just authority. In the next place he recommends to their deliberate consideration, "the whole condition of Ireland; and that they should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects; finally, they are to consider, if the removal of these disabilities can be effected consistent with the full and permanent security of our establishments in church and state; with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law; and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and clergy of this realm, and of the church committed to their charge."

The number of petitions which poured into both Houses of Parliament, for and against Catholic Emancipation, was very enormous; but the signa-

tures for Emancipation quite outnumbered those against it.*

Mr. Secretary Peel introduced the "Catholic Relief Bill"—(the Government never used the word "Emancipation")—into the House of Commons, on Thursday, March the 5th. Having got the clerk at the table, according to custom in such cases, to read the above passages from the King's speech, he opened his great statement in the following bold and dignified manner:—"I rise as a minister of the King, and sustained by the just authority which belongs to that character, to vindicate the advice given to his Majesty by a united Cabinet—to insert in his gracious speech the command which has just been read, respecting the propriety of taking into consideration the condition of Ireland, and the removal of the civil disabilities affecting our Roman Catholic fellow subjects."

* As soon as the King's speech reached Dublin, the Catholic Association met and dissolved itself. Mr. Peel conducted through its several stages a Bill for the suppression of the Association, before he introduced the Relief Bill. The last meeting of the Association took place on the 12th of February, 1829. The Bill for its suppression received the Royal assent on the 5th of March, 1829.

The dryest old Tory Lawyer will have his joke. "Lord Eldon presented to the House of Lords, a petition from the tailors of Glasgow against Emancipation. "What!" said Lord Lyndhurst, "do the tailors trouble themselves about such *measures?*" "No wonder," answered Lord Eldon; "You can't suppose that tailors like *turn-coats.*" —"Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," by M. Guizot, p. 37.

M. Guizot, who is said to have known English as well as he did French, hardly saw the fun of this; for he treats it rather solemnly, when he says:—"As soon as the debate commenced, ironical insult to persons was mingled with *the conflict of* principles." The Italics are not his.

Both Peel and Wellington advocated the granting of the Catholic claims from *expediency* and *necessity*: neither rested those claims on justice. Here are Mr. Secretary Peel's words on that point:—"Sir, I have, for years, attempted to maintain the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from Parliament, and the high offices of the State. I do not think it was an unnatural or unreasonable struggle. I resign it in consequence of the conviction, that *it can be no longer advantageously maintained;* from believing that there are not adequate materials or sufficient instruments for its effectual and permanent continuance. I yield, therefore, to a moral necessity which I cannot control, unwilling to push resistance to a point, which might endanger the establishment which I wish to defend." Peel was remarkable for his *three courses* on public questions; here, he had only *two:* "Our present position is untenable," said he, "Government must advance or recede." In a historic review, he showed, from 1794, that the Catholic question was the chief cause of "disunited cabinets." He took the constituencies of the largest counties, and greatest towns of England, and proved from his figures, that the people of England were favourable to a settlement of the question; he showed, which was easy to do, that except the Orangemen of the North, the Irish Protestants as a body, were in favour of conceding Catholic Emancipation. He concluded:—"I move, Sir, that the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the laws imposing civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects."

Hansard says;—"Loud and protracted cheering followed the conclusion of the Right Hon. Secretary's

speech. It occupied more than four hours in the delivery. Throughout, the Right Hon. Gentleman was listened to with the most profound attention, and at times the cheers were so loud as to be heard in Westminster Hall, and the passages leading to the lobby."*

The division on the third reading stood thus:—

For	...	...	320
Against	...	...	142

Majority for Catholic Emancipation, in the House of Commons, ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHT.

The Bill was read a first time in the House of Lords, on the 31st of March. It was read without a division, but not without a very sharp debate, in which the three princes of the blood—Clarence, Cumberland, and Sussex—spoke. On the second reading, which was taken on the 2nd of April, the Duke of Wellington spoke. He said, there was a considerable organization of the people, which foreboded mischief. He saw danger in the establishment of Catholic Churchwardens; in the example set by the Electors of Clare; in the proceedings of a gentleman—[Jack Lawless]—who had gone at the head of a body of men to the North of Ireland; in the simultaneous meetings. "But, we are asked," said the Duke, "Why do you not carry the law into execution? Why, my Lords, in all I have stated hitherto, *there was no resistance to the law.*" "My Lords, it is said, 'if the law will not

* *Hansard*, Vol. 61.

There is a note to this speech, one similar to which the Author has never seen to any other in *Hansard*. It is:—"*Inserted* with the permission and approbation of Mr. *Secretary* Peel."

do, let us proceed to blows.' What, I suppose, is meant by proceeding to blows, is, coming to civil war." The Duke then spoke these remarkable words:—"I am one of those who have, probably, passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this—that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, *even one month* of civil war, in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it (cheers). I say, there is nothing which destroys property and demoralises character to the degree which civil war does. By it the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother, and against his father; the servant betrays the master, and the whole becomes a scene of confusion and devastation."*

The division in the Lords on the second reading of the bill, gave a majority of ONE HUNDRED AND FIVE in its favour. On the third reading, the majority was just one less, being ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR.

The King had given a most reluctant consent to the introduction into his speech of the passage about the Catholic claims. On the 13th of April he, with equal reluctance, affixed his signature to the Catholic Relief Bill, when it had become law.†

By the Bill, Acts requiring declarations against Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, were repealed. (Section 1.)

The bill did not concede full and complete Emancipation; the Catholics being still excluded from some offices. By the twelfth section, it was enacted that "Roman Catholics could not hold the office of

* *Hansard*, Vol. 62. † See Appendix A.

Guardian and Justice of the United Kingdom, or of Regent, or Lord Chancellor, or Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal, or Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy, or other Chief Governor of Ireland, or High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland." By the 15th section, they were debarred from voting or interfering in Ecclesiastical appointments, in the Established Church.

On the 15th of May, O'Connell went down to the House of Commons to claim his seat for Clare. The Speaker told him he must take the *old oaths*. He withdrew. Brougham then moved, that Mr. O'Connell be called back, and heard at the table. Peel advocated an adjournment, to which the House agreed. There was a discussion as to whether he should be heard at the table or the *bar* of the House. On his coming before the House a second time, he was heard at the bar. His speech was a close legal argument, which occupies forteen pages of *Hansard's* debates. Having concluded, "he bowed to the House," says *Hansard*, "and withdrew, amid loud and general cheering." There was a long debate, lawyers being the principal speakers, yet the division would seem to be more of a party division, than one on the legal merits. It stood thus:—

For administering the old oaths,	190
Against administering them,	116
Majority against O'Connell's admission	74

On the 19th of May, the order of the day being *read for* the attendance of Mr. O'Connell, he was

called to the bar, whereupon the Speaker communicated to him the resolution agreed to by the House. Then the Speaker, in accordance with the order of the House, asked Mr. O'Connell whether he would take the Oath of Supremacy, whereupon Mr. O'Connell asked to see it, which being shown to him, he stated that it contained one proposition which he knew to be false, and another proposition which he believed to be untrue, and that he, therefore, refused to take it. He then withdrew.*

There was a clause put into the Emancipation Act for the evident purpose of preventing O'Connell to sit for Clare, on his first election. It was to the effect that any Roman Catholic elected before the passing of the Act, should take the *old oaths*. The *Times* and other leading journals thought this an unwise clause.

O'Connell thus rejected at the bar of the House, went back to Clare, and was triumphantly returned.

He closed the two greatest years of his life, '28 and '29, by his immortal appearance in the case of the "Doneraile conspiracy."

In the year 1829, a number of persons residing in the county Cork, were arrested on the charge of being engaged in a conspiracy to murder several of the gentry of Doneraile. The trials of these persons took place at a Special Commission in the month of October, before Baron Pennefather, and Mr. Justice Torrens. The first persons tried were—a respectable farmer named Leary, and three others, Roche, Magrath, and Shine. The principal witness was a man named Patrick Daly, a spy, who "had

* *Hansard*, Vol. 62.

been for a considerable time in the pay of the magistracy." and he had, to corroborate his testimony, several approvers, and what is designated circumstantial evidence. The spy, Daly, and the approvers all swore that Leary was the leader of the conspiracy, and that "in a tent, at the fair of Rathclare, he produced a paper, which he got several persons to sign, with an agreement to murder three magistrates," Admiral Evans, Mr. Creagh, and Mr. Bond Low. These approvers and the spy also swore, that it was stated of a Catholic magistrate (whose name was mentioned), that he would give £200 to have a certain other magistrate shot! Upon this evidence Leary and his companions were found GUILTY, and sentenced to execution within a week, although one of the witnesses to character for Leary, was a man seventy years of age, the father of Mr. Creagh, whom it was alleged he intended to murder; and, "the venerable gentleman pronounced an impressive eulogy on the prisoner at the bar."

The leading counsel for the Crown was Mr. Doherty, then Solicitor-General. "The friends of the accused trembled when they learned that O'Connell would not attend. And well they might have trembled, when they heard the terrific speech of Solicitor-General Doherty, in stating the case for the Crown. . . . . As far as eloquence is regarded, his speech was strikingly brilliant."*

Terror-struck at the fate of the first batch of prisoners, the friends of the accused determined to procure O'Connell's presence. Harsh things were said about his refusing to attend, and the attorneys for the prisoners despatched a peasant upon horse-

* See "Last Days of O'Connell." Appendix A. p. 44. "Ireland and its Rulers." Part 1st, pp. 72, 73.

back to Darrynane, to implore him to come to Cork.* The messenger left town on Saturday, and arrived at Darrynane early on Sunday morning. When O'Connell read the "*slaughtering*" speech of Mr. Doherty, and learned that four persons were found guilty on evidence, in which his keen and practised eye discerned much rottenness, and when the murmurs of popular displeasure (however unreasonable) fell upon his ear, he resolved to start for Cork at once. On that Sunday, it was reported all through Cork, that O'Connell would not come at all, and the public saw the prospect of a whole body of men being strung up like sheep, several of whom, there were good grounds for presuming to be innocent. Dismay and terror seized the peasantry, who, influenced by the hazardous position of their comrades, for they had seen the most innocent persons arrested, thronged in great numbers to the City of Cork.

Monday morning (Oct. 26th) came, and there was no sign of O'Connell, and despair sank deep into many a heart, as a fresh batch of prisoners was sent to the bar, to go through the same trials as Leary and his companions. Application was made to stop the trial until O'Connell should arrive, but the Bench could not do so, and Mr. Doherty rose to detail the case to the Jury; he was in the act of holding forth, when a noise like popular cheering was heard outside the court-house. "Was it" ——— ? Yes, it was O'Connell. "Oh, he's come at last, thank God! Thank God!" ejaculated numbers of the people. The independant and impartial portion of the public were equally rejoiced, because they were certain

* He had gone to Darrynane for a little repose, after the tremendous work of the previous part of the year.

that no legal injustice could be committed before him, without his instant detection, and powerful exposure.

He had not been able to leave Darrynane until the evening before. The roads were very bad, and he travelled the greater portion of the night. For greater expedition he used a light country gig, which he drove himself. He had slept at Macroom for three or four hours, and started off in the morning for Cork, which he did not reach until about ten o'clock. Dressed in his customary green frock, with his broad-brimmed hat, he was discerned by many eyes, eagerly strained in the direction of the Kerry road, and as he whipped the tired brute that drew him, thousands shouted—"He's come—he's come—he's come." He drew up in the middle of the city, and he had hardly descended from the vehicle, when the horse fell dead between the shafts. Eager for a legal battle, he *marched* straight to the court-house, where Mr. Doherty was carrying everything just as he pleased. It is said, that when the Solicitor-General heard the fearful shouting of the people, and when he was compelled to stop, until O'Connell was borne into the court by an excited body-guard of friends, that, for a moment, he changed colour. He anticipated a painful defeat in his legal collision with the great Agitator.

O'Connell at once bowing to the judges, and saluting Baron Pennefather, with the most marked and respectful courtesy, (which was cordially returned) apologised for not having appeared in a more professional costume, and craved permission to refresh himself in court. A bowl of milk and some bread and meat were sent in to him, while at either side of him, a young barrister filled each ear with

all that had been done, and how the case of the accused stood. O'Connell gratified his appetite for breakfast with evident relish, after his long morning drive. 'Twas rather a contrast, the big, massive Agitator, slabering his meal in a court-house, and the graceful, aristocratic Mr. Doherty talking in the most refined manner to the Jury.

What led to the enmity between O'Connell and Mr. Doherty, is not publicly known, but they appeared on that day to be enemies with no ordinary hatred and animosity.* As the Solicitor-General laid down a doctrine of law, O'Connell, with marked contempt, cried out in the middle of his breakfast, "*that's* not law." The Bench was appealed to, and the point ruled with O'Connell, who, as the pugilists say, "drew first blood." The Solicitor-General resumed his statement, but he had not gone much further, when O'Connell, jumping up, said—"The crown cannot make such a statement as that—it has no right to put in such evidence to the Jury," and again the Bench decided with O'Connell. Mr. Doherty's statement of the second case was certainly much less imposing and successful than when, without powerful opposition, he harrangued the Jury against Leary and the first batch of prisoners.

The second batch consisted of Connor, Lynch, Wallis, and Barrett, and the witnesses against them were—the spy (Patrick Daly), and the approvers, Sheehan, Nowlan, and others. It was the same kind of evidence as the first prisoners were convicted upon. The tale was the same, but the infamous character of the witnesses was laid bare by O'Con-

* It may, perhaps, have originated in the abuse the Agitator had poured upon the Solicitor-General, for his conduct *in the* Borrisokane trials.

nell, in a cross-examination, never surpassed for dexterity. The witnesses trembled under him, and Nowlan, the most infamous character of the lot, cried out, "Ah, indeed, sir, it's little I thought I'd have to meet you here to-day, Mr. O'Connell."

Yet powerful as was the impression produced by O'Connell, he failed in showing that there was not much truth in the narrative of the witnesses. His great success was over the Solicitor-General, whom he brow-beat and bullied in the most approved forensic fashion. In fact, on all legal points that were incidentally raised, he knocked about Mr. Doherty, with as much ease as a school-boy slashes a spinning top. The humiliation of the Solicitor-General was most complete. On nearly every question raised O'Connell triumphed. His bearing towards Mr. Doherty was even more insulting than his mere legal success. To his face O'Connell mimicked his manner in the most grotesque way, "You may go down, sir," said Mr. Doherty. waving his hand contemptuously to one of the prisoner's witnesses, and pronouncing the words in a certain fashionable and aristocratic manner. "Naw! daunt go daune, sir," cried O'Connell, ludicrously burlesquing the style of his adversary. Another time, the Solicitor-General said, "The allegation is made upon false facts." "False facts," cried O'Connell, "What a bull! how can facts be false?" The Solicitor replied, "I have known false facts, and *false men too.*"

All through the trials, a running fire of altercation was kept up, but O'Connell, in virulence, was sure to bear the palm. Mr. Doherty not being able to match him, either in law or in colloquial wit, vainly sought to shelter himself behind an assumed

aristocratic disdain for his enemy. But such was a poor defence in an Irish Court of Law, against the shattering vollies of O'Connell's racy and trenchant humour. Mr. Doherty even seemed to court the attacks of O'Connell, as if he affected to deride them :—

> His haughty spirit scorned the blow,
> That laid his proud ambition low,
> But ah! his looks assumed in vain,
> A cold ineffable disdain.

When the Agitator made some very fierce insinuations against the conduct of the Solicitor-General, Mr. Doherty, at first let them pass, until one after another, the Crown Counsel stood up, and stated that the Solicitor-General had done nothing without their approval. The Bench then complimented Mr. Doherty, who immediately rose and said, that proud as he was of the eulogium of the Bench and his brother barristers, he was still more proud (looking scornfully at O'Connell) of the disapprobation of others. It would be impossible to detail the repeated cross firing between the two legal belligerants, in which the Solicitor-General was evidently worsted.

The Jury upon the second batch of prisoners, could not agree. They were locked up, and kept from food for a day and a half, and were not discharged until the strongest medical testimony of extreme danger to one of the parties, was given to the Judges. One gentleman, Mr. Edmond Morrough, a Catholic of large fortune, was alone dissentient. He would bring no verdict of "Guilty," upon the evidence of such approvers as Nowlan

and Sheehan. The division amongst the Ju was—

For acquitting Connor, Lynch, and Barrett, ...	... 9
Against the acquittal of ditto,	... 3
For acquitting all ...	... 1
Against ditto, ...	... 11

Thus the Crown was baffled for a time, and gr effect was produced by stopping its career. Th were still, however, a vast number to be tried, a the fate of many a man was in jeopardy. T O'Connell's "showing up" of the witnesses, a his browbeating of Mr. Doherty, were the ther of every tongue.*

Now, however, came the turning point of Commission. The Crown proceeded with a th case, and put John Burke, and John Shine to bar; offering to the Jury the same evidence as h been given in the previous cases. O'Connell v in the act of cross-examining the spy, Patr Daly, when Baron Pennefather beckoned to hi and handed him the informations sworn by t spy before the Magistrates at Doneraile. In th informations not a word was said about the drama scene in the tent, where Leary was said to ha sworn the parties into the conspiracy, all of wh was just then so glibly told in the witness box the spy. This great discrepancy in the evider struck the Jury very much, especially when su gested to them by one of O'Connell's best cro examinations; and a verdict of "Not Guilty" w

* The report at the time was, that there were ONE HUNDR AND FIFTY men to be put on their trial for the Doneri Conspiracy.—J. O'R.

within an hour pronounced by a Jury upon the same evidence as that on which Leary and others had been found guilty. The Crown then resolved not to proceed further with the Commission, and loud were the rejoicings of the people at this fresh glory of O'Connell, and his complete victory over the Solicitor-General, whom he had publicly abused as "long Jack Doherty, from Borrisokane."

To make the acquittal of the parties more triumphant, they had been tried by a Jury composed exclusively of Protestants. The Crown and the prisoners' counsel availed themselves of the right to challenge. In the second case the dissentient juror was a Catholic, and though there were other Catholics on that Jury, (amongst others Mr. D. Callaghan, M.P.), the Crown deemed it most prudent that the third Jury should be Protestants.

CHAPTER VII.

The "Shave Beggar"—The "Algerine Act,"—O'Connell prosecuted under it—Blackwood *v.* Blackwood—Newtownbarry—Carrickshock—The Repeal debate in Parliament—The "Derby Dilly"—The "Heir-at-law" of the impenitent thief—The "Three Colonels"—O'Connell Lord Mayor—His letter to Lord Shrewsbury—His "Memoir of Ireland"—The Repeal Year—Repeal debate in the Corporation—Monster Meetings—"Tara of the Kings"—The "Monster" Prosecution—Imprisonment—Appeal to the House of Lords—His liberation—His illness and death—His character.

For some time after the granting of Emancipation there was a lull in Irish affairs. Everyone seemed to court repose. The chief points of inte-

rest with the Catholics were what practical good was to flow from Emancipation? What Catholics would be appointed to those higher offices from which they had been before excluded? What success would the Catholic members have in the House of Commons, &c.?

Parliament was opened on the 4th of February, 1830. O'Connell spoke for about half an hour the first night. His speech, which was on the address, was exceedingly well received and repeatedly applauded. Not long afterwards he attacked Solicitor-General Doherty, for suppressing the first informations sworn in the Doneraile Conspiracy, which differed materially from the second; and, also, for setting aside Catholic Jurors *merely* because they were Catholics. Lord Leveson Gower, was Secretary for Ireland at the time, and sustained Doherty in those encounters with O'Connell. It was during one of them that O'Connell gave the *sobriquet* to the Irish Secretary, which has clung to the holders of the office ever since.

When he rose to reply to his assailants, Lord Leveson Gower rose to leave the house. "I perceive," said O'Connell, "the noble Lord is about to leave the house. I beg him to remain one moment. I will dispatch his Lordship first, though out of order (hear, hear). I heard the speech of this noble Lord without surprise or admiration. He took a haughty tone without cause, and a dictatoral manner without authority. First, indeed, he assented to the good taste of my honorable and excellent friend, the member for Aberdeen (Mr. Hume). My honorable friend is certainly not so fashionably neat as the noble Lord. He is not a ruler of fashion—

such an *arbiter elegantiarum* as the noble Lord (hear, hear). He may not be so dainty or so courtly as the noble Lord; but he has qualities which I advise the noble Lord to admire, if he does not condescend to imitate them. He is honest,—he is straight-forward—he hates a job—he loves economy of the public revenue—he despises the spoliators of the peoples' money, and he detects and exposes those peculators whom, in the present state of this house, he cannot punish. . . . . He (Lord Leveson Gower) is an apprentice in politics, and he dares to censure me, a veteran in the warfare of my country. His office is a mere apprenticeship. The present Premier was Secretary in Ireland—the present Secretary of State was Secretary in Ireland—so was the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. Their juvenile statesmanship was inflicted upon my unhappy country. I have heard that barbers train their apprentices by making them shave beggars (laughing). My wretched country is the scene of his (Lord Leveson Gower's) political education. *He is the shave-beggar of the day for Ireland*" (cheering).

O'Connell commenced agitating for the REPEAL OF THE LEGISLATIVE UNION almost immediately. At the close of 1830 the Marquis of Anglesey was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the second time. He came with altered views. O'Connell and his new agitation was to be put down with a high hand. The "Algerine Act" enabled the Viceroy to *forbid*, by proclamation, any meeting which *he considered* dangerous to the public peace, and he began his second term of office by issuing such a proclamation. In face of this proclamation, a dinner, at which 300 were present,

was given at Hayes's hotel, where thirty-one persons were appointed as a committee. They breakfasted next morning at Holmes's hotel; the assemblage was dispersed by the magistrates (but luckily they were after breakfast at the time), and O'Connell was arrested in his house on the 19th of January, for evading the proclamation. His bearing at the police office on this occasion excited much admiration amongst the people. The report says :—

"Mr. O'Connell walked quickly up to the table and said, 'I wish to know whether you yourselves, or by direction of those of higher authority, have thought fit to have me dragged like a felon through the streets—one who is a householder of the city of Dublin, and a Member of the Imperial Parliament—and that you have sent your common thief-catchers to my house, without giving me the slightest notice? I wish, in the first instance, that this question should be answered.'

"Alderman Darley—'We have acted under the directions of those of higher authority.'

"Mr. O'Connell—'I am glad of it; they may degrade themselves, but they cannot degrade me. I now wish to know if you have informations upon oath?'

"Alderman Darley—'We have.'

"Mr. O'Connell—'I wish to have them read. I demand that they shall be read.'"

The magistrates here looked at one another for a few minutes.

"Mr. O'Connell—'I demand to have any informations upon oath that you have read to me.' Mr. O'Connell here put on his hat, and said, 'I mean no disrespect to you, but I am a Member of the

House of Commons—I am the equal of the Marquis of Anglesey, and I am determined to maintain inviolable the high privileges of which I am possessed.'

"Mr. Graves—'We mean no disrespect to you, Mr. O'Connell.'

"Mr. O'Connell—'Then, gentlemen, I have no objection to remove my hat; but I do it out of compliment to you.'

"Major Sirr—'Will you take a chair, Mr. O'Connell?'

"Mr. O'Connell—'No, thank you, I had rather stand.'"

Whilst O'Connell was knocking about the magistrates, and denouncing the illegality of the proclamation in the most trenchant style,

"The door of the magistrates' private apartment was opened by a peace-officer, it having been previously a little ajar, and a gentleman was seen standing by the door, as if listening; he instantly darted behind the door out of sight.

"Mr. O'Connell—'There is Baron Tuyll in the other room; I see the Lord Lieutenant's private secretary looking in at us. You (to the magistrates) are, indeed, I find, acting under superior authority. Mind, Baron Tuyll is in the other room (to the reporters), take a note of that. Let me repeat, that as the King has not such an authority over meetings of his subjects, the Lord Lieutenant cannot have it.'"

The door of the private apartment was again opened a little.

"Mr. O'Connell—'Baron Tuyll may as well, I think, come into the room at once. (Loud laughter). But I say, sir, that the Lord Lieu-

tenant has no more authority by this proclamation for punishing a man for attending a public meeting, nor of so interfering with the rights of the Irish people, than he would have to put his hand into my pocket, to break into my house, to cut my throat, or let loose the soldiery upon the people.' ".

At the end of a legal argument of some length, he said :—

" 'Now, I defy you not to see that there is no charge against me of having violated the statute—not the least. On the contrary, the statement in the warrant is that I committed no offence. I am charged, in fact, with carefully avoiding all offences ; that is called evading the proclamation. How is the proclamation to be evaded? Only by avoiding its penalties. In other words, I am charged with avoiding to commit an offence ; and thus, because I avoid to commit an offence, here are before me four magistrates, who first arrest me, and then call upon me to find bail, because I took care not to commit any offence' " (much laughter).

O'Connell eventually gave bail, but the prosecution was not persevered in.

His happiest hit was the detection and exposure of Baron Tuyll in the private room. The Baron's presence there was a perfect illustration of what has been called " back stairs" influence ; for he reached that room by a private underground passage leading from the Castle to the Head-office (as it was called), in Exchange-court, which passage was not closed up until the year 1841.

Public opinion has always regarded O'Connell's speech on the trial of John Magee as his greatest forensic success ; but his own opinion was that *his*

greatest bar speech was made in the important property case of Blackwood *v.* Blackwood, which was heard in Downpatrick. This opinion he expressed in conversation at a private dinner in Belfast, on the occasion of the splendid reception given to him in that town in 1841, the greatest he ever received, he said, except one after the Clare election. He gave some account of the case also on the same occasion. It was tried before the elder Judge Moore. Edward Pennefather, afterwards Chief-Justice, was leader against him; Blackburne was with him—"in fact," said Dan, "the *elite* of the Irish bar were present." Pennefather read from a law book a passage telling directly against O'Connell's clients, but O'Connell had a copy of the same book in his hand, and found lower down on the page *an exception* to the passage read by Pennefather, which told directly and plainly for his clients. "I," said Dan, "with my usual impetuosity, was rising up to correct Pennefather, when Blackburne seized me by the gown, and pulled me back into my seat, whispering to me not to say a word on the point until I would come to reply. The case might have been lost but for this. Had I been allowed to contradict Pennefather at the moment he would have managed to wriggle out of my contradiction; it would be regarded by the Bench as a squabble between counsel, and passed over."

"Judge Moore, a poor man," said O'Connell, "who never knew any law, happened to stumble on the right view of the law in this case." When O'Connell rose to reply, he went on for a long time stating his case and putting forward his arguments, in which, without formally contradicting Pennefather, he assumed him to be wrong.

The judge, at last, interrupting him, said, "But Mr. Pennefather says the law is different."

"Yes, my lord," said O'Connell, "he had the presumption to contradict your lordship on a point of law; your lordship is right, as you always are, when there is a point of law." O'Connell then read the passage for the judge, and "he looked," said Dan, "as proud as a man who had received a crown of gold."

As O'Connell went on with his speech, he kept an eye on the jury-box, and he saw after some time that he had eleven of the jury with him. "There was one dark-looking little Orangeman," said he, "sitting unmoved, silent, and glum-looking. I knew he was against me. I talked at that fellow half an hour; at last I stirred him; he rose in his place, moved a little, and sat down again. His aspect was changed—I saw I had him." So he had; he got a verdict.

In this case Pinckston Blackwood's will was to be set aside on the score of madness. One of that gentleman's hallucinations was that he was Napoleon Buonaparte, referring to which, O'Connell said: "Oh, gentlemen of the jury, it is profanation to compare the name of Pinckston Blackwood with that mighty spirit which, even in a bad cause, awed all Europe; at whose nod the sceptres fell from the hands of kings, and nations trembled; which, by the power and the splendour of its genius, arose above the gaze of an admiring world, until, dizzied by its own lofty soarings, it fell upon a barren rock, and expired in the blaze of its own magnificent creation."*

* The above facts about the "Blackwoods" case I have *from a gentleman* who was present when O'Connell related

During his visit to Belfast, O'Connell amused the friends he met in private society, with some of his bar anecdotes. He told them the story of the one "Legging." It was this :—

A murder had been committed, and the murderer took away with him the mudered man's clothes, who being a respectable man, had good clothes. He wore tights and leggings. A policeman had come upon the murderer near the spot and gave him chase. He saw a bundle in his hand. He saw him take refuge in a house ; the policeman entered, and found a man in bed ; under which bed he found a bundle of clothes with marks of blood upon them, which in due time were sworn to, as the clothes the murdered man wore the last time he had been seen alive. O'Connell was for the prisoner. "The case," said he, "looked very hopeless; I, however, examined the bundle of clothes for myself, as my habit was on such occasions, to examine everything for myself, and I found there was but one legging in it. I then saw I had something to go on." O'Connell got the policeman on the table, and cross examined him very mildly for a considerable time, and got him to swear in the most positive manner that *all* the murdered man's clothes were in the bundle. Having him fully committed to this, he suddenly changed his whole manner, and in a quick, vehement tone said to the peeler (as he called him) "come now, sir, tell me this, what did you do with the other legging?" The suddenness of the blow staggered the witness. "The other legging ?" "Is it the other legging you want to know about, Mr. O'Connell?" "As soon as he said that, I knew I had him," said O'Connell, who then made him confess that one of the leggings was burned in the police barrack—his evidence

was discredited by the jury, and the prisoner was acquitted.

"I got," said he, "a horse-stealer (who had certainly stolen the horse) acquitted on one occasion. He kept to his profession, and always employed me afterwards. Having freed him for the third or fourth time, I was leaving court some hours afterwards, when a person approached me (to whom I did not particularly advert at the moment) and said with great unction—'May the Lord spare you to me.' I turned round and found it was the horse-stealer."

The story of "Diagonal Greene," was one that the Liberator told with evident satisfaction. It occurred in a case between two rival stage coaches. Those coaches used to be trying to outstrip each other, obstruct each other, and in fact annoy each other in every possible way. On one occasion a serious collision took place. Going down a hill the coach that was behind ran against the front one (on purpose without doubt), upset it in the ditch, and injured several passengers. The owner of the injured vehicle brought an action. O'Connell was for the other side. Several persons proved that it was not by accident but by design the collision occurred. Of course there was some cross-swearing, too; at length a gentleman named Greene, swore that the injury was done through malice. O'Connell cross-examined him. "Well, Mr. Greene," said he, "you are probably connected with my excellent and worthy friends, the Greene's of Clonmel. He said he was (evidently flattered). "Oh, well, it is exceedingly pleasant to have a member of that worthy and respectable family, to give us the true account of *this* accident, in order that justice may be done.

Now, be pleased to tell us, Mr. Greene, how it really happened?" Mr. Greene described the collision, and in doing so, said the hinder coach made a diagonal and struck the coach in front. "A diagonal, Mr. Greene." "Yes." "Well, now, have the kindness to tell us, Mr. Greene, what is a diagonal?" Mr. Greene did not know, and so began loose, lengthy descriptions, in which O'Connell made him repeatedly contradict himself. When he had completely ruined his evidence, he said—"You may go down, Mr. *Diagonal Greene*, I am ashamed of you." He was never known afterwards by any other name but "Diagonal Greene."

At this period what was known as the "Tithe war" commenced, or rather became more intense, for it was an old grievance detested by the people. On the 18th of June, 1831, the Rev. Mr. M'Clintock had conveyed by force into Newtownbarry (a town in Wexford bordering upon Carlow), a motley collection of household utensils belonging to the poor Catholics who resided in the parish of which he was rector, in order to have them auctioned for his tithe. Numbers of the people assembled with the object of preventing, by their presence, anyone to bid for those articles. The police and yeomanry were present in force; they fired on the unarmed people, shot thirteen of them dead, and wounded twenty more. No person was ever put on trial for this carnage.

Six months later there occurred another massacre at Carrickshock, in the county of Kilkenny. On the 14th of December a process-server, named Edward Butler, accompanied by thirty-seven or thirty-eight policeman, proceeded to serve a process for tithes on a man named Walshe, who

resided near Carrickshock, in the parish of Knocktopher. A large number of people assembled and followed the police, keeping a certain distance from them. They were some hundreds in number at first, but ultimately increased to about one thousand. They were armed with various weapons. The process was served by Butler putting it under Walshe's door (this man usually went by the name of Waterford). Near his house—"one hundred and seventy perches from it by measurement"—the police and the process-server entered a narrow lane, where they were attacked by the infuriated people, and "in about two minutes," as was sworn, twelve of them lay dead—the process-server amongst them. Several were desperately wounded. One of the country people was shot dead, being the man who first struck the process-server with a wattle.

Some twenty-five persons were arrested, three of whom were put on their trial in Kilkenny, at the Spring assizes of 1832. O'Connell came from Parliament to defend them, and so broke down the principal witness, a policeman named Harvey, that the jury brought in a verdict of *acquittal!* The Crown then postponed the trials; but at the Summer Assizes the verdict of acquittal was repeated.

In the general election consequent upon the Reform Bill, between thirty and forty Repealers were returned from Ireland. O'Connell, whilst he kept up a vigorous agitation for Repeal, was in no hurry to bring it before Parliament, believing it was not ripe for parliamentary discussion; but the people grew impatient over the delay, so he *brought* it on in April, 1834. His motion was

drawn up in a mild form; it only asked an inquiry into the working of the Legislative Union. He spoke five hours on the question; Spring Rice, who answered him the next night, spoke six. After five nights' debate, a division was taken with this result: ayes, 38; noes, 523. Seldom had such a House come together. The only practical result of the debate was, that Spring Rice was made a peer for his reply to O'Connell.

It is asserted that in the next year, O'Connell came to an agreement with the Whigs to aid them in ousting the Tory Government: this was called the "Lichfield-house compact." O'Connell denied there was any compact; but he *did* support the Whigs, and by his aid, they *did* defeat Sir Robert Peel's Government; Lord Melbourne then returned to power in April, 1835, which he retained until 1841.* During all these years, the Repeal question

* Lord Melbourne's first Government had been dismissed most unexpectedly and unceremoniously, by the King, the year before. When Lord Althorpe, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, went to the upper house, the Premier waited on the King and submitted to him the changes he proposed to make in consequence; his Majesty at once said he did not think the Government of the country could be carried on by such a Ministry, and that he had made up his mind to send for the Duke of Wellington The other members of the Cabinet were assembled waiting to hear the result of the Premier's visit to the King. When he entered the room in which they were, he took off his hat, and throwing it on the floor, began to kick it about with a sort of cool deliberation and without saying a word. This he might do without much pecuniary loss, for he was renowned for wearing bad hats. They began to cry out, "What's the matter?" "What's this for?" "Faith we're out," said he, Then it was that Lord Brougham rushed to the *Times'* office and gave the news which ended with the immortal phrase—"*The Queen has done it all.*"

may be said to have made no progress, but, meantime, there were incidents in the life of O'Connell worth recording here.

Sir James Graham and Lord Stanley (the Hon. E. G. S. Stanley at the time), belonged to Earl Grey's Government. When that statesman retired from office, they, and some others who thought with them, formed themselves into a little band or coterie in the House of Commons, and professed to be independant of parties. In his speech on the address, at the opening of Parliament in February 1835, O'Connell alluded to them: "what," said he, "are we to call that section of the house to which the Right Hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham) alluded, and over which the noble Lord (Stanley) presides? It is not a party—that he denies; it is not a faction—that would be a harsh title. I will give it a name; we ought to call it the *Tail*. How delightful would it be to see it walking in St. James's-street to-morrow—to see the noble Lord strutting proudly with his sequents behind him, and with a smile passing over his countenance, something like, as Curran said, 'a silver plate on a coffin,' while the Right Hon. Member (Sir J. Graham) would be one of its lustiest links. . . . I doubt much that the Right Hon. Baronet's protection, with that of his noble friend, the noble Lord, and the sequents which he may carry with him, will avail those over whom it is extended—

> "Down thy hill, romantic Ashbourne, glides
> The Derby dilly with his six insides."*

This happy application of the lines created much merriment in the house, Lord Stanley being heir to

* Hansard.

the title of "Derby." The six insides were:—Sir James Graham, Sir Andrew Agnew, Lord George Bentinck, Leechmore Charleston, Lord George Lennox, and Sir Stratford Canning.

In the course of this year D'Israeli poured a torrent of abuse upon O'Connell at Taunton; referring to which, he thus spoke of D'Israeli in the Dublin Franchise Association: "His life, I say, is a living lie. He is a disgrace to his species. What state of society must that be that could tolerate such a creature? . . . . His life, I say, is a living lie. He is the most degraded of his species and kind; and England is degraded in tolerating, or having upon the face of her society, a miscreant of his abominable, foul, and atrocious nature. He is Conservatism personified. His name shews that he is by descent a Jew. His father became a convert. He is the better for that in this world, and I hope, of course, he will be the better for it in the next. There is a habit of underrating that great and oppressed nation—the Jews. They are cruelly persecuted by persons calling themselves Christians; but no person ever yet was a Christian who persecuted. The cruelest persecution they suffer is upon their character, by the foul names which their calumniators bestowed upon them before they carried their atrocities into effect. They feel the persecution of calumny severer upon them than the persecution of actual force, and the tyranny of actual torture. I have the happiness to be acquainted with some Jewish families in London, and amongst them, more accomplished ladies, or more humane, cordial, high-minded, or better educated gentlemen, I have never met. It will not be supposed, therefore, that when I speak of

D'Israeli as the descendant of a Jew, that I mean to tarnish him on that account. They were once the chosen people of God. There were miscreants amongst them, however, also; and it must have certainly been from one of those that D'Israeli is descended. He possesses just the qualities of the impenitent thief who died upon the cross—whose name, I verily believe, must have been D'Israeli. For aught I know, the present D'Israeli is descended from him; and with the impression that he is, I now forgive the heir-at-law of the blasphemous thief who died upon the cross."

D'Israeli, stung to the quick by this terrible invective, challenged Morgan O'Connell to fight him, vicariously, for his father. That gentleman refused; he said he was not accountable for his father's words; that he had challenged Lord Alvanley because he had called a meeting of Brookes's Club, for the purpose of having his father expelled. There was no duel.

On the 30th of July, 1838, the House of Commons went into supply, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a vote of £8,928 for the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, for the year ending 31st of March, 1839. Colonel Sibthorpe rose and opposed the grant, but said, that in the present state of the house, he would not call for a division. As soon as he resumed his seat, up rose Colonel Perceval, and repeated substantially what Colonel Sibthorpe had said; Colonel Verner then got on his legs to oppose the grant: he gave some reasons for this course—one being that "he thought Maynooth an institution *subversive of morality and good faith.*"

O'Connell then rose and said, "he was sorry that

the three Colonels opposite,—the church militant, he supposed, of that house—had not the courage to divide against this grant; for if they had such courage, he would certainly have divided with them, for this grant was most decidedly against the voluntary principle, which, in matters of religion, he should always uphold." . . . . But they did not divide, they only talked,—"there now," said O'Connell, suddenly looking towards them, "there is a council of war being held between them," (the three Colonels had their heads together at the moment, and the observation was received with loud laughter). "Oh, those gallant Colonels! I must venture a parody against them:—

> Three Colonels in three different counties born,
> Did Lincoln, Sligo, and Armagh adorn;
> The first, in gravity of face surpassed;
> In grace, the second; sobriety, the last:
> The force of Nature could no further go;
> To beard the first, she shaved the other two." *

—(roars of laughter.)

* *Hansard*, Vol. xliv. Third series, p. 813.

The above is a parody on Dryden's lines, written under the portrait of Milton:—

> "Three poets in three distant ages born,
> Greece, Italy, and England did adorn;
> The first, in loftiness of thought surpassed,
> The next in majesty—in both the last:
> The force of Nature could no further go,
> To make a third she joined the other two."

Mr. Fagan tells us the lines about the Derby dilly were said to be given to O'Connell by Dominick Ronayne, the member for Clonmel. That may be the case, but the author of this volume never heard of it; what he did hear, and on excellent authority too, is, that the above parody

Colonel Sibthorpe wore a great beard, which at that time was unusual, even with military men, whilst the other two Colonels were closely shaved.

O'Connell after postponing Repeal for several years, in order to give the English minister an opportunity of doing justice to Ireland, and thus extinguish the Repeal movement, at length gave up the trial in despair, and founded the Repeal Association on the 15th of April, 1840. His speech on the occasion was solemn and earnest. "We have," said he, "assembled to take part in proceedings that will be yet memorable in the history of our country. Yes, this 15th of April, will be yet memorable in the annals of Ireland. It shall be referred to as the day on which the flag of Repeal was unfurled; and I shall fearlessly, legally and constitutionally keep it unfurled until the day of success shall have arrived, or the grave shall

on Dryden was written by Ronayne, whilst the colonels were speaking, intending to use it himself. He showed it to O'Connell, near whom he sat, and said, "Do you think, sir, that would tell?" O'Connell read it, and replied, "Yes, I think that would tell." He rose immediately after Colonel Verner, and used it in his speech, as given above. Ronayne was indignant, and said, *sotto voce*, "That's mine—that's mine." O'Connell resumed his seat, and said to him, with that arch composure of which he was such a master, "Didn't I tell you, Dominick, it would tell?"

It it quite probable that Ronayne supplied both the "Derby dilly" and the "Three Colonels;" for he knew the English poets better than any man of his time; besides, the passages on which they are founded were outside the path of ordinary readers of the poets. O'Connell used to call Ronayne the "tollman's terror," because he was in the *habit of going* from fair to fair, to abolish unjust and fictitious tolls.

close over me, and on my tomb shall be inscribed, 'He died a Repealer.'"

The movement began to expand, as soon as the people felt assured that O'Connell was in earnest about it. Some talented young men joined the Repeal ranks, and gave a great impetus to the agitation. The central figure around which they grouped themselves was Thomas Davis, the poet—the high and single-minded patriot—the man of large heart, and tender friendships. Their principles soon shot ahead of O'Connell's. "Young Italy" and "Young America" were terms applied at the time to the more ardent spirits of those countries; so this advanced band of patriots was called "Young Ireland;" a term which they never accepted for themselves. They projected and established the *Nation* newspaper in the Autumn of 1842, and its fiery patriotism and high literary merit soon made it a power in the land.

The first town council under the new Corporation Act was elected on the 26th of October, 1841, and O'Connell was sworn in its first Lord Mayor on the 8th of November. He gave much time to the duties of that office, and, in a few days, revised the burgess roll, which contained 18,000 names; when he arrived at the last name, the time allotted for the revision had expired all but *two minutes*. When he arose from his completed, and herculean task, loud applause burst from those around him—from Tories as well as Liberals.

It was during the year of his mayoralty he wrote his celebrated letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Its title is:—"Observations on Corn Laws, on Political pravity and ingratitude, and on clerical and personal slander; in the shape of a week and

modest reply to the second letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury Waterford and Wexford, to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, Esq. By Daniel O'Connell, Lord Mayor of Dublin." It is of great length, and not even an analysis of it can be attempted here. It opens with these remarkable words:—"My Lord, I love the Jesuits—I admire the Jesuits—the greatest benefactors to religion and to literature that the world ever saw. There is a shrewd compactness in the way they embody common sense, greatly to be prized. One of their maxims is, '*that there is no theologian so dangerous to religion as a very pious fool.*'" It is said that when O'Connell wrote anything of considerable length, or about which he wished to be careful, it was his habit to submit it to Sir Michael O'Loughlin before he published it. He sent him the letter to Lord Shrewsbury in manuscript, and said he would call next morning for his opinion. They lived within ten doors of each other, on the south side of Merrion Square. O'Connell did call next morning, and was shown up stairs to Sir Michael's dressing room. "Well, O'Loughlin, did you read the letter?" "Yes." "What do you think of it?" O'Loughlin, who was engaged in shaving, turned round and said emphatically—"It is the best thing, Sir, you ever wrote." A criticism which was thoroughly verified by public opinion.

It was in the beginning of the year 1843, that he published his "Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon." He dedicated it to the Queen. It is an indictment against England for her treatment of Ireland, founded on English authorities. It is called volume the first, but no more was ever published.

The year 1843 was named by the Liberator the

Repeal Year. The national cause had been making great progress during 1842, but the enthusiasm about it in that year was nothing as compared with the demonstrations of 1843. In 1842 most of the Dublin wards held meetings on the subject; in those meetings Repeal was combined with a movement for the promotion of Irish manufacture—a subject very nearly allied to Repeal; and the temperance movement, too, came in for a great share of attention—for those were the glorious days of the Apostle of Temperance. Would to God we had him now—he was never more required. O'Connell, according to the ancient custom of the Dublin corporation, ceased to be lord mayor on the 1st of November, and he seems to have had his mind thoroughly made up, the moment he was free from office, to go in, heart and soul, for Repeal. Ten days after that event we find him heading a great Repeal demonstration in Waterford. The reformed corporation of that ancient city had invited him to a banquet, to celebrate the abolition of the old rotten Orange corporation, and the instalment in its place of representative citizens—the chosen of the people. He was met on the occasion, the report says, by sixty thousand people, with whom he entered Waterford in triumph. This may be regarded as the first of those Monster meetings which made the following year, 1843, renowned in the annals of Ireland.

The "Three days' Discussion" in the corporation of Dublin, on the Repeal of the Union, commenced on Tuesday, 28th of February, 1843. It was brought on by a motion of Alderman O'Connell, "that he would move that a petition be presented to parliament from the corporation for a Repeal of

the Union. In bringing forward his motion, he undertook to establish NINE PROPOSITIONS, viz.—

1. The capability and capacity of the Irish nation for an independent legislature.

2. The perfect right of Ireland to have a domestic parliament.

3. That that right was fully established by the transactions of 1782.

4. That the most beneficial effects to Ireland resulted from her parliamentary independence.

5. The utter incompetence of the Irish parliament to annihilate the Irish constitution by the Union.

6. That the Union was no contract or bargain; that it was carried by the grossest corruption and bribery, aided by force, fraud, and terror.

7. That the Union produced the most disastrous results to Ireland.

8. That the Union can be abolished by peaceable and constitutional means, without the violation of law, and without the destruction of property or life.

9. That the most salutary results, and none other, must arise from a Repeal of the Union.

The speech in which O'Connell triumphantly established these nine propositions was certainly one of his greatest efforts. It is a tissue of facts and arguments from beginning to end. Many members of the corporation spoke on both sides of the question, but the great intellectual athlete against O'Connell was Mr. Butt. He is now the leader of the Home Rule movement, and so, no more need be said.

A division was taken on the third day with the *following* result.

For O'Connell's motion, . .	41
Against it, . . .	15
Majority, . .	26

When the Repeal meetings were becoming so vast, from the numbers that attended them, as to deserve the name of "Monster meetings," Thomas Davis, it was said, in order to give them a historic and still more enthusiastic character, suggested that they should be held on historic ground; hence, Cashel, Mullaghmast, Tara, Clontarf were selected. The attendance at them rose from sixty thousand at Waterford to half a million at Mullaghmast; which reached at Tara, by the lowest estimate, 750,000, by the highest 1,200,000; the *Times* itself admitting the presence of about a million of people at that unprecedented gathering. As the general character of those "Monster Meetings" was pretty much the same, I will content myself here with describing that of Tara, at which I had the advantage of being present.

Tara is about seventeen miles north-west of Dublin, and three and a-half miles from the village of Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath and province of Leinster. The hill is of no great height, but being in a level country, is a very prominent object from every point, for many miles around. It is flat on the top, spacious, and covered with rich verdure in every part. No spot in Ireland is more historic. It is called "Royal Tara," "Tara of the Kings." Here for centuries were the monarchs of Ireland crowned—crowned upon that *Liafail*—that stone of destiny—which is now to be seen in Westminster Abbey. Here did our

great Apostle, St. Patrick, boldly kindle
Paschal fire, before the royal light gleamed
the palace, knowing well he would be bro
before the king for his temerity, the very thin
most desired, feeling that if he could secu
favourable reception of the Gospel of his Di
Master at Tara, it would be a passport to him
his mission through the rest of the island. I
it was that the Danes, in 980, sustained a defe
decided, though not so crushing, as the one
flicted upon them at Clontarf, thirty-four y
later. Here it was that O'Neill, after a victor
march southwards, reviewed his army in 15
and, alas! here it was that in '98 a body of in
gents suffered defeat, more from their own
prudence than through the bravery of the fenci
and yeomanry who fought against them; and
yet stands the "Monster Grave"—"the Crop
grave," in which the slain people were

"In one red burial blent;"

which, on the day of the Monster Meeting,
a spot of far greater interest and excitement t
even the platform from which the Libera
spoke.*

* "A military force of over 400 men, with one cann
marched, on the 26th of May, to attack a body of s
3,000 insurgents encamped on the hill of Tara. The la
were chiefly armed with pikes, yet for about four hour
hard fighting, they continued to maintain their ground, a
at one time had surrounded the cannon."—*Haverty's Hist
of Ireland*, p. 746. From 350 to 400 were killed. Th
is no use in speaking of wounded, for they were slaughte
by the royal troops when the battle was over, their pract
being to give no quarter. Gordon says (p. 82) that t
"victorious party" only lost nine killed and sixt

On Tuesday, the 15th of August, 1843, the Feast of the Assumption, Mr. M'Garry, of Baggot-street, gave a public breakfast in honour of the Liberator. In a gallery in front of the breakfast room was placed a harper, clothed in the antique Irish costume, who, during the repast, played some of the most touching "airs of our land." Daniel O'Connell, junior, and Tom Steele were there, who afterwards travelled with the Liberator to Tara; so was Dr. Gray, whom we have so lately lost, and whose meeting with his Chief on that pleasant sunny morning was of the warmest kind. O'Connell was busy when he entered. "Here is Dr. Gray, father," said young Dan; he turned towards the Doctor at once, and with a smile of kind recognition and pleasant banter, shook his head, and said, "Oh, I know the villain."

The breakfast was an early one, for he was back at his house in Merrion-square at a quarter past nine to start for Tara. The programme was that he was to be accompanied by a vast procession—in fact that all Repeal Dublin was to go with him to "Tara of the Kings." Merrion-square was thronged with vehicles and pedestrians—the windows crowded with ladies. The procession soon got into motion, O'Connell, of course, leading the way. Mr. M'Garry came next, with an open carriage and four, his harper in the box-seat playing "The Harp that once through Tara's Halls." The line

wounded. If we can credit this, there cannot have been much hard fighting. The tradition in Meath is, that the proprietor of Tara Hall, beside the hill, "with treacherous intent," opened his cellars to the insurgents, numbers of whom drank too freely, and all became demoralized.

of route through town was crowded—streets, windows, roofs.

I slept in Dunshaughlin the evening before, that I might see the procession enter the town and accompany it to the Hill. Next morning, after Mass, I went forward towards Dublin, and met the procession two miles outside the village, but it had ceased to be a regular compact procession at that time. O'Connell, who occupied the box-seat of an open carriage, drawn by four splendid horses, was borne along at such speed that he left a great portion of the procession behind; still a goodly number of vehicles were in close attendance upon his, forming for him a splendid *cortege*. The roadsides were lined with people, so that almost a continuous cheer was kept up along the route. He returned every salute with that dignified grace which no one who has seen it can forget. Ever and anon, as he replaced his hat upon his head, he gave it that inclination to one side—that slight *rake* which so well became him. He looked every inch a king—or, rather, I should say, like a conqueror in a Roman triumph, radiant with victory—the cynosure of all eyes. He halted for twelve minutes in Dunshaughlin, and then dashed forward amid the ringing cheers of an assemblage almost large enough to make a monster meeting itself.

Forty-one bands are enumerated as having been at the Tara meeting, and there may have been many more. They were all in gayest uniform. Several of them went towards Dunshaughlin to meet the Liberator, and as they opened their ranks to let him pass, they struck up "See the Conquering Hero comes." At a turn in the road between *Belpir* and Tara the Royal Hill itself suddenly

burst upon the view of the whole *cortege;* and the *cortege* as suddenly burst upon the countless multitude that covered the Hill. A cheer was raised around the Liberator's carriage, and it ran rapidly along the streaming line of men before us until it exploded the vast *mine* of voice upon Tara. Oh, such a sound! Could human voices produce it? It came back upon us loud as Alpine thunder—jubilant as a laughing melody. The old harper grew inspired at the scene, and struck his harp with enthusiasm, but the sounds died upon the strings—there was greater music in Tara that day than its harp ever uttered.

There were six temporary altars erected on the hill, where the Holy Sacrifice continued to be offered from an early hour in the morning, for the convenience of those who had travelled from a distance, and who could not otherwise comply with the obligation of the festival. Indeed, great numbers had bivouacked all night in the neighbourhood, but luckily the weather was extremely fine. I counted forty spoke-wheel cars heeled up in a dry ditch, at the foot of the hill, with the horses tied to them feeding. There were names upon them, and they came, every one from Wexford! There were Wexford men, no doubt, in the Croppies' Grave over on the hill side, and after five and forty years, their kinsmen and their countrymen had come to kiss the green sward above them, and pray for their souls. Little cared they for the Tara Meeting compared with the Croppies' Grave, unless, indeed, that meeting were the forerunner of something that would avenge the men who slept in it.

The scene at the grave was very remarkable. I went several times to it during the day, and it was

always surrounded by a most excited crowd. It is, of course, not an ordinary grave, but a large long mound. The great desire of every one seemed to be to carry away some memorial from it. There is a plant which the gods of botany call *Rumex Acetosella*, but which is known to the simple as "Sheep's Sorrell;" it is a dwarf sorrel, the leaves of which become red, or rather russet, in Autumn. It was to be found on the Hill of Tara in plenty, the day of the Monster Meeting, more especially on and around the Croppies' Grave. The people took it into their heads, that the red hue was given to it by the Croppies' blood, and they were most anxious to carry off plants of this sorrel. A fine able young countryman installed himself as *Ciccrone* of the grave. I heard a poor woman ask him in her unsophisticated way, why those red plants were there? Disgusted at her ignorance, he answered indignantly—"Isn't it on account of the boys that were murdered here in '98, and buried in this grave?—and isn't it their blood that's making them red?"

There was a spacious platform about the centre of the hill, it was surrounded, I should say, by not more than thirty-thousand people; in fact there was no getting near it, for at a certain distance from it, there was a *cordon* of vehicles eight or ten deep, crowded with occupants. It was, besides, clear, the people cared little for the speeches, they knew they could read them next day in the newspapers, and they seemed moreover, to feel that listening to speeches was not their chief business there—the meeting was, as they justly considered, a great demonstration of national strength and national feeling.

It would give a very false notion of the Tara

demonstration, to call it a crowded meeting—it was no such thing—the only real dense crowd was about the platform. The vast majority of the people were in detached groups all over the hill, talking politics and discussing the future moves of the Liberator. Not more than half the hill could be well taken in at a time. Moving a quarter of a mile or so from the platform, and travelling quietly and steadily back to it with the eye, one could contemplate the scene to great advantage. It ended with the full manly figure of the Liberator, clear above the crowd, and relieved against the sky, earnestly addressing those around him, all but his gestures unintelligible to the great mass of the people.

His speech, as reported, was up to the occasion. It was bold, but as usual, tempered with prudence. He spoke of the physical might of Ireland, but in the same breath warned the people against secret societies, and bade them remember that his motto was—"He who commits a crime gives strength to the enemy." His opening sentences were—"It would be the extreme of affectation in me to suggest that I have not some claims to be the leader of this majestic meeting (loud cheers). It would be worse than affectation—it would be drivelling folly, if I were not to feel the awful responsibility that the part I have taken in this majestic movement imposes upon me (hear, hear). I feel responsibility to my country—responsibility to my Creator. Yes, I feel the tremendous nature of that responsibility—Ireland is aroused—is aroused from one end to the other. Her multitudinous population have but one expression and one wish, and that is, the extinction of the Union—the restoration of her nationality" (cheers).

The last Monster Meeting, which was to have been held at Clontarf on the 8th of October, was proclaimed by the Government. Within the following week, O'Connell and eight others, were held to bail to stand their trial "for conspiracy and other misdemeanors." The eight gentlemen included in the indictment with the Liberator were: his son John; Charles G. Duffy; the Rev. Mr. Tyrrell of Lusk (who died while the prosecution was pending); the Rev. Mr. Tierney of Clontibret; Richard Barret of the *Pilot*; Thomas Steele, "the Head Pacificator;" T. M. Ray, Secretary of the Repeal Association; and Dr. Gray of the *Freemans' Journal*. The trial dragged its weary length over eight months: it was a "Monster" trial; there was a "Monster" indictment; there were "Monster" speeches; certainly "Monster" expenses; and undoubted knavish *manipulation of Jury lists*. Sheil opened the defence for O'Connell in a very brilliant speech; but omitted all mention of Repeal. O'Connell was his own advocate. His speech disappointed many at the time: they did not think it bold enough; but it has been long since admitted to be one of the ablest and most finished specimens of legal argument extant. The prosecution ended by O'Connell and his compatriots being sent to Richmond Prison, on the 30th of May, 1844. "Remember the 30th of May, 1844," was for a long time after the motto of the *Freeman's Journal*.

The case was brought to the House of Lords, where judgment was reversed. The news of the liberation of the incarcerated patriots reached Dublin on the 5th of September. On Saturday, the 7th, they left Richmond Prison, accompanied by a "*Monster*" procession. O'Connell was elevated

high above the crowd in a triumphal car; the others occupied their private carriages.

It was whilst the appeal was before the Lords that Lord Denman uttered the immortal words:—"If such practices as have taken place in the present instance in Ireland, should continue, THE TRIAL BY JURY would become A MOCKERY, A DELUSION, AND A SNARE." The Tories were, at this time in power, under Peel, who had been Premier from 1841, and they were most anxious to keep O'Connell in prison as long as they could. When it was all but certain that there would be a majority of the law-lords for setting him at liberty, Lord Lyndhurst, then Chancellor, came out to the lobby of the House of Lords, one day, and asked to see the "Irish Solicitors." They were in attendance. "Gentlemen," said he, in his blandest accents, "the case is going quite in favour of your clients; there can be now no doubt of their liberation, and as your extensive business must be suffering much in your absence, I advise you to return home—the case is substantially over." There was deep villainy in this. It was near the close of the Session, and if the Tories could only get the Solicitors out of the way, they could manage to have Parliament prorogued, before a decision would be come to; and by that means, O'Connell should remain in prison till the Session of 1845. Lord Denman saw Lyndhurst speaking to the Solicitors, and when he was gone away, his lordship went up to them and said:—"*What is that the old fox was saying to you?*" They told him. "Do no such thing, gentlemen," said Lord Denman, "do not return to Ireland until you have the reversal

of the sentence in your pocket." They very properly took his advice.*

Ireland was destined at this time to have sorrow upon sorrow; she was desolated by famine, and her great Liberator died in May, 1847. For some time his powers had been evidently failing, and no wonder, after the life of hard work he had gone through. Besides, he was in his seventy-second year. Many members of his family lived to be much older, and he used to say, good-humouredly, that they had a trick of living till ninety; but they did not labour as he did. The writer heard him in Conciliation Hall, shortly before he went to England, for the last time, and his feebleness was painful, especially to any one who remembered his proud, defiant energy in earlier years. The quarrels and dissensions, which had arisen amongst the national party, teased and depressed him, and must have affected his health. It was observed, too, by his friends, and indeed by all, that his imprisonment in Richmond told considerably upon him; his speeches, after his liberation, lacking that buoyant pleasantry for which they were wont to be remarkable. The famine also weighed heavily upon his spirits; every question, he frequently said, must be postponed but the one of saving the lives of the people. We need not, however, go in search of causes for his death; he had done the work of a host of men, he was seventy-two, and it was natural he should die; but the Irish people were not at all prepared for his death: no, in their affection for him, they had

* This anecdote I had from the late Mr. William Forde, *one of* the Solicitors who was present at the conversation.

made up their minds that their Liberator was to live up to that ninety, which he had so often promised them,—and, with the vigour of forty-five. In the last days of March, 1847, O'Connell left Dublin for London, to attend his parliamentary duties. He presented some petitions on the 1st of February, and spoke at some length about the famine on the 8th; his speech, the last he ever made, occupying about one hundred lines of a newspaper column. He was imperfectly heard. One report says, "Mr. O'Connell rose, but spoke very indistinctly, and directed his voice very much to the lower part of the house." The opening re-remark in *Hansard* is:—"Mr. O'Connell was *understood* to say." He was very kindly received by the house; hears and cheers are thickly strewn through his speech as reported. This was in part, no doubt, the kindness of pity for the great old man, in the hour of his feebleness and humiliation. For he, who in the day of his might, had hurled "his high and haughty, defiance" at them all, was there to crave bread, to save the lives of those millions with whom he had so often threatened them. His last words were an appeal to their charity; they also contained a prophecy, which was, alas! but too strictly verified.—"She is in your hands," he said, "she is in your power. If you don't save her, she cannot save herself; and I solemnly call upon you to recollect that I predict, with the sincerest conviction, that one-fourth of her population will perish, unless you come to her relief" (cheers from both sides).

So ended the public career of the great leader of the Irish nation, to be followed in two short months by his death. Two days after he had

spoken in the House of Commons, the rumour reached the clubs that he was dangerously ill. This was contradicted, and a letter from himself to the Repeal Association, which was read at their next meeting, reassured the public. Next, the news came that writing fatigued him, and that his physicians forbade it, so, for the future his son John wrote, in his own name, to the Association, always, as might be expected, taking the sanguine view of his father's health. A month passed. His physicians ordered him to Hastings, and after spending a forthnight there he sailed for France. His intention was to go to Rome. At Lyons he felt so poorly that he was obliged to refuse audiences to the various deputations of that Catholic city, which crowded to his hotel to do him honour. He arrived at Genoa, his final stage, on the 6th of May, and breathed his last in that city on the evening of the 15th, with the tranquility of a child. His faithful friend, the Rev. Dr. Miley, and several of the principal clergy of the place were kneeling in prayer around his bed when he expired.

O'Connell's character has been traced by many eloquent pens, some friendly, some the reverse, but all are forced to admit that the powers with which he was gifted were of the highest order. He first became distinguished as a lawyer; soon after being called, he distanced those of his own standing, and in time, his legal opinion was regarded as oracular. Crown lawyers, and even judges feared him, as well they might, for he never spared them when they were wrong. In the early part of his career, his admiring countrymen loved to call him, "the *counsellor*," and it was their highest delight to hear

him cross-examine a witness. Anecdotes of his wit, humour, and keen penetration whilst so engaged, are very numerous, very amusing, and full of character. As a cross-examiner he had no rival at all; lawyers of his time there were, who might dispute the palm with him for profound knowledge of the laws and constitution of the country, yet somehow or other it came to be admitted, openly or tacitly, that no other lawyer could see so far into an Act of Parliament as Dan, nor drive a coach and six through it so triumphantly.

But it was in the political arena he made his enduring fame. When he entered public life, the Catholics of Ireland were a despised, enslaved race: not only were they enslaved, but through custom, or by tradition, they thought, and spoke, and acted, like slaves. Their leaders were the few Catholic peers that Ireland possessed, and the heads of those old Catholic families, who, by some means, managed to retain a portion of their property. These were called "the natural leaders of the people." They were not remarkable for talents; they were timid; they were prostrate in the dust, and they half accepted the situation. They had been so long regarding the Protestants as a superior race, that they came to believe it at last, and, hence, in the presence of Protestants, they always bore themselves with the humble downcast manner which became inferiors.

The young counsellor, fresh from the Kerry mountains—an athlete in mind and body—had no notion to submit to such degradation from men who were his inferiors in every respect, and, consequently, his language was full of manly independ-

and as he walked through Dame-street, Parliament-street, and along the quays to the Four Courts, he looked the noblest and proudest man in Dublin,—a very king of men.

In attack and denunciation he was terrible. What he said of Peel, when Irish Secretary, is an example of this. At an aggregate meeting, in 1815, he alluded to him as the worthy champion of Orangeism. At the mention of Mr. Peel's name, says the report, there was much laughing.

"You mistake me," said Mr. O'Connell, "I do not, indeed I do not intend this day to enter into the merits of that celebrated statesman. All I shall say of him, by way of parenthesis, is, that I am told he has, in my absence, and in a place where he was privileged from any account, grossly traduced me. I said, at the last meeting, in the presence of the notetakers of the police, who are paid by him, that he was too prudent to attack me in my presence. I see the same police informers here now, and I authorise them carefully to report these my words, that Mr. Peel would not dare, in my presence, or in any place where he was liable to personal account, use a single expression derogatory to my interest or my honour." This passage led to the affair of honour between himself and Peel. No hostile meeting, however, took place.

His best friends thought his propensity of arraigning and denouncing those who differed from him was often carried to excess, but he refused to give it up or modify it. The defence he once made for it was, that it was not *irritation*, it was calculation that made him adopt that style of animadversion. The Catholic aristocracy, and the older leaders of the Catholics, were offended with it, and

soon retired from any active part in Catholic affairs. This may have been one of O'Connell's calculations. Although his aggressive propensities were sometimes indulged to an extreme degree, he was right in the main, for the "whispering humbleness" of the older Catholic leaders would have never won Emancipation; and this was handsomely and honourably confessed to Mr. P. V. Fitzpatrick by Lord Fingal, shortly before his death. Lord Fingal, having sent for Mr. Fitzpatrick, that gentleman repaired immediately to his lordship's residence, and having been shown into the library, where the dying nobleman was reclining in an easy chair, feeble in body, but bright and vigorous in mind, his lordship addressed him as follows: "Mr. Fitzpatrick, I have been for some time thinking whom I should pitch upon to discharge my conscience of a heavy debt, and I have fixed upon you as the most appropriate person, because you not only know me and Mr. O'Connell, but you knew us all who were connected with Catholic politics for years, and well. You know, too, that I went forward to an extent that caused me to be sometimes snubbed by those of my own order in that body; but, notwithstanding, I, like them, was criminally cowardly. We never understood that we had a nation behind us. O'Connell alone comprehended that properly and used his knowledge fitly. It was by him the gates of the Constitution were broken open for us; we owe everything to his rough work, and, to effect further services for Ireland, there must be more of it. I never understood this properly until they made me a peer of Parliament, and I feel myself bound to make the avowal under the circumstances in which you now see me, prepara-

tory to my passing into another world. You will communicate this to O'Connell, and my most earnest wish that he will receive the avowal as an atonement for my not having always supported him as I now feel he should have been supported." O'Connell, as an orator, aimed at being what he was called for many years—"the Man of the People." In some of his earlier speeches there are marks of care and preparation, but during three-fourths of his career his only preparation was to master his subject; words of the best and most effective kind never failed him. There is little doubt that elaborate preparation would have marred the effects of O'Connell's oratory. He, like all great men, had a quick intuitive mind—one, in fact, that could scarcely bear the tedium of careful preparation, and the true character of which came out in cross-examining and in reply; for, although great and lucid in statement, he was still more powerful in reply. Woe to the man who provoked the lion to anger—he pawed him to death. His gesture was not very demonstrative, but it was sometimes very energetic, and when he wanted a cheer for a man or a principle, he called for it by a bold flourish of his hand above his head. But O'Connell stood in little need of the aids which gesture commonly gives the public speaker, his fine appearance and unrivalled voice did everything for him. It is said he had no ear for music, but his voice when speaking in public, was the most musical that could be heard; great in power and compass, rich in tone, ever fresh in the variety of its cadences, it was as unique and striking as the great man to whom it belonged; nor was the *charming* brogue which accompanied it, the least of

s attractions. Another advantage possessed by im has not been so much remarked upon—the ıpid, changeful expression of his features. By ɔserving O'Connell's face, as he spoke, one could e sure of the tone and temper of what was coming. Vas he about to make an adversary ridiculous by ı anecdote or a witticism? His eyes, his lips, his hole face, suddenly became expressive of humour. id he intend to turn from pleasantries to solemn arning, or fierce denunciation, (a usual habit of is,) the dark cloud was sure to cast its shadow ross his manly features, before the thunder came rth.

His style was simple and forcible. He very ldom quoted the classics, although he was fond f giving passages from the English poets, more pecially from Moore, but the lines which expressed ıe guiding principle of his life were taken from yron :—

Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

he moment I read that passage, he once said, I ıw it was the motto for Ireland; and up to 1829, ıe year of the Emancipation, he seldom spoke ithout quoting it. He avoided figurative language. le amused his audience with stories and old sayings hich they understood and appreciated. He brought ıe shrewd apothegms, familiar at their own fire ides, to bear upon the principles he was inculcating, ut flowers of rhetoric he knew would be feeble eapons for the warfare in which he was engaged. le once, indeed, complimented Sheil, by calling him the brightest star that ever rose in the murky

horison of his afflicted country;" but that suited the man and the occasion.

He had a true conception of what a great teacher ought to be; and for this reason he kept repeating his principles and his arguments in the same or almost the same words. Many an admirer of his thought he dosed his countrymen far too much with, "First flower of the earth," and "Hereditary bondsmen;" but, as he said about his attacks on men, it was calculation made him do it, and he proclaimed this so late as 1846, at the Repeal Association, in the following words:—"I have often said, and repeated it over and over again, that I had found, that it was not sufficient in politics to enunciate a new proposition, one, or two, or three times. I continue to repeat it, until it comes back like an echo from the different parts of the country; then I know it is understood, and I leave it to its fate." The lesson had been learned.

Physically, O'Connell was a very powerful man. He was taller than he seemed, his muscular frame taking away in appearance from his height. The earliest portraits of him make him a soft-faced athletic young man, very likely to be a dangerous antagonist in the prize ring, but his features, as given at the time, bear scarcely any resemblance to later portraits of him. His shoulders were broad, and in walking he pushed them forward alternately in a rather remarkable manner. This peculiarity, arising more from physical necessity than from choice, gave him a sort of slinging gait, which caused a Tory print to call him, derisively, "Swaggering Dan." This nickname of their favorite did not offend the people, they even thought it appropriate, there was such a dashing independence

in his whole manner; and Sheil never wrote anything more felicitously true, than when he said of him, "he shoulders his umbrella like a pike, and throws out his legs as if he were kicking Protestant ascendancy before him."

O'Connell was a liberal in the highest sense; he loved toleration; but he was also a Catholic to the heart's core—thorough, uncompromising: proud of the down-trodden Church to which he belonged, with, at first, perhaps, an intuitive feeling—later on, the proud consciousness that his name would be linked with her struggles and her triumphs.

"One of my earliest aspirations," he more than once said, "was to do something for the good of my country, and write my name on the page of her history." He was fervently devoted to the holy practices of the Catholic Church. The fatal result of his duel with Captain D'Esterre, seems to have exercised a marked influence upon his whole life, and he frequently alluded to it in terms of the profoundest regret. It was a sight not to be forgotten to see him attend Mass and receive Holy Communion in Clarendon-street. When he was at home, his habit was to walk from Merrion-square to that, his favourite chapel, to eight o'clock Mass. On these occasions he usually wore a very ample cloak, the collar of which concealed the lower half of his face. Thus enveloped, he entered the sanctuary with an expression of recollection so profound, that it might have been a Trappist who had entered. So it was during the hour he remained; he seemed perfectly unconscious of any human creature being in the place, except the priest at the altar before him. He seldom used a prayer-book, and his eyes

were never once raised during the whole time. Buried in his great cloak, he moved noiselessly out, as he had entered—a bright example,—a very model—to the whole congregation.*

* "History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847." p. 460.

APPENDIX A.

"I took my seat on Tuesday, the 3rd of March. We had continued our deliberations in Cabinet up to that time, and had agreed with perfect unanimity on the general outline, and indeed on the details, of the several measures to be proposed to Parliament. We acted under the impression that we had the sanction (the reluctant, certainly—but still the complete sanction) of the King for our proceedings. Being anxious that there should not be a moment of unnecessary delay, I gave notice on the 3rd of March that I would, on Thursday, the 5th, call the attention of the House of Commons to that part of the Speech from the Throne which related to the state of Ireland, and the removal of the civil disabilities under which the Roman Catholics laboured.

"In the interim, circumstances wholly unforeseen occurred, which appeared for a time to oppose an insuperable barrier to any further progress with the measures of which the actual notice had been thus given.

"On the evening of Tuesday, the 3rd of March, the King commanded the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, and myself to attend His Majesty at Windsor at an early hour on the following day. We went there accordingly, and, on our arrival, were ushered into the presence of the King, who received us with his usual kindness and cordiality.

"He was grave, and apparently labouring under some anxiety and uneasiness.

"His Majesty said that we must be fully aware that it had caused him the greatest pain to give his assent to the proposition made to him by his Cabinet, that they should be at liberty to offer their collective advice on the Catholic Question, and still greater pain to him to feel that he had no alternative, but to act upon the advice which he had received. His Majesty then observed, that as the question was about to be brought forward in Parliament, he wished to have a previous personal conference with those of his

Ministers, whom he had summoned on this occasion t attend him, and whom he must regard as chiefly responsibl for the advice tendered to him. He said that he desired t receive from us a more complete and detailed explanatio of the manner in which we proposed to effect the object w had in view.

"Upon this requisition from His Majesty, being proba bly most familiar with the details of the measure which had to submit to the House of Commons on the followin day, I proceeded to explain them to the King. I observe to His Majesty that the chief impediment to the enjoymen of complete civil privileges by his Roman Catholic subject was the obligation to make the declaration against Tran substantiation and to take the Oath of Supremacy as quali fication for such privileges. That we proposed to repea altogether the declaration against Transubstantiation, an to modify, in the case of the Roman Catholics, that part o the Oath of Supremacy which relates to the spiritual an ecclesiastical jurisdiction and superiority of the Pope.

"On this reference to the Oath of Supremacy, the Kin seemed much surprised, and said rapidly and earnestly 'What is this? You surely do not mean to alter th ancient Oath of Supremacy?' He appealed to each of hi ministers on this point. We explained to his Majesty tha we proposed that to all his subjects, excepting the Roma Catholics, the oath should be administered in its presen form, and that the Roman Catholic should be required t declare on oath his belief that no foreign prince or prelat hath any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm We added that if the Roman Catholic was still required before his admission to office or to Parliament, to declar his belief that no foreign prelate hath or ought to have an spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, power, or pre-emi nence within the realm, the measure of relief would be un availing; that an effectual impediment to the enjoyment o civil privileges would remain unremoved.

"The King observed that, be that as it might, he coul not possibly consent to any alteration of the ancient Oat of Supremacy—that he was exceedingly sorry that ther had been any misunderstanding on so essential a point— that he did not blame us on account of that misunderstand *ing—that* he did not mean to imply that in the explanatio

which we had previously given to him, in writing, there had been any concealment or reserve on this point. Still the undoubted fact was, that he had given his sanction to our proceedings under misapprehension with regard to one particular point, and that a most important one—namely, the alteration of the Oath of Supremacy, and he felt assured that our opinions would be in concurrence with his own—that a sanction so given ought not to be binding upon the sovereign, and that his Majesty had no alternative but to retract his consent, if the measure to which it had been given under an erroneous impression were *bonâ fide* disapproved of by his deliberate and conscientious judgment.

"In answer to this appeal, we expressed our deep concern that there had been any misunderstanding on so important a matter, but our entire acquiescence in the King's opinion that his Majesty ought not to be bound by a consent unwarily given to important public measures under a misapprehension of their real character and import. After a short lapse of time, his Majesty then said: 'But after this explanation of my feelings what course do you propose to take as my Ministers?'

"He observed that notice had been given of proceedings in the House of Commons for the following day; and addressing himself particularly to me, who had charge of those proceedings, said: 'Now, Mr. Peel, tell me what course you propose to take to-morrow.' I replied that with all deference and respect for his Majesty, I could not have a moment's hesitation as to my course—that the Speech from the Throne had justified the universal expectation that the Government intended to propose measures for the complete relief of the Roman Catholics from civil incapacities; that I had vacated the seat for Oxford on the assumption that such measures would be proposed; that the consent of the House of Commons had been given to the Bill for the suppression of the Roman Catholic Association, if not on the express assurance, at least with the full understanding that the measure of coercion would be immediately followed by the measure of relief; that I must, therefore, entreat his Majesty at once to accept my resignation of office, and to permit me on the following day to inform the House of Commons that unforeseen impediments, which would be hereafter explained, prevented the King's servants from

proposing to Parliament the measures that had been announced, that I no longer held the seals of the Home Department, and that it was my painful duty to withdraw the notice which had been given in my name.

"The King put a similar question to the Duke of Wellington, who replied that he desired to be permitted by his Majesty to retire from office, and to make to the House of Lords an announcement to the same effect with that which I wished to make to the House of Commons.

"The Chancellor intimated his entire acquiescence in the course which the Duke of Wellington and I proposed to pursue.

"His Majesty was pleased to express his deep regret that we could not remain in his service consistently with our sense of honour and public duty. His Majesty said, moreover, that he could not be surprised at our decision, or blame us for the conclusion at which we had arrived.

"Our interview with his Majesty lasted for the long period of five hours; there was unintermited conversation during the whole time, but nothing material passed excepting that the purport of which I have faithfully reported. At the close of the interview the King took leave of us with great composure and great kindness, gave to each of us a salute on each cheek, and accepted our resignation of office, frequently expressing his sincere regret at the necessity which compelled us to retire from his service.

"The following passages, having reference to this interview, are extracted from the Memoranda left by Lord Eldon, of the conversation which he had with his Majesty a few weeks subsequently to our conference with the King.

"Lord Eldon saw the King on the 28th of March, and on the 9th of April. In the account of the conversation of the first day, is the following passage:—

"LORD ELDON'S MEMORANDA.

"The King complained that he had never seen the Bills, &c., &c., that he was in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast, that he had nothing to fall back upon, that his Ministers had threatened (I think he said twice at the time of my seeing him) to resign if the measures *were not* proceeded in, and that he said to them, 'Go on,'

when he knew not how to relieve himself from the state in which he was placed, and that in one of those meetings, when resignation was threatened, he was urged to the sort of consent he gave by what passed in the interview between him and his Ministers, till the interview and talk had brought him into such a state that he hardly knew what he was about when he, after several hours, said 'Go on.'" —See p. 510. Vol. vii., *Campbell's Chancellors.* In speaking of his interview with the King on the second day Lord Eldon observes—

"This led to the King's mentioning again what he had to say as to his *assent.* In the former interview it had been represented that, after much conversation twice with his Ministers, or such as had come down, he had said 'go on,' and upon the latter of these two occasions, after many hours' fatigue, and exhausted by the fatigue of conversation, he had said 'go on.' He now produced two papers, which he represented as copies of what he had written to them, in which he assents to their proceedings and going on with the Bill, adding certainly in each, as he read them, very strong expressions of the pain and misery the proceedings gave him."—*Campbell's Chancellors.* Vol. vii., p. 512.

"Lord Eldon must have misunderstood the account which he received from his Majesty of our interview with the 'King.' In the first place there was only one interview such as that to which I have referred—one interview, I mean, between his Majesty and certain of his Ministers, in which the offer of resignation was made. In the second place his Majesty did not give us at the close of the interview, permission to 'go on.' His Majesty accepted from each of us the tender of resignation, and we returned to London under the full persuasion that the Government was dissolved—at least that we, individually, were no longer in the service of the Crown. On our return to London we joined our colleagues, who were assembled at a Cabinet dinner (I think at Lord Bathurst's), and announced, to their infinite astonishment, that we had ceased to be members of the Government.

"A sudden change, however, took place in the King's intentions. At a late hour on the evening of the 4th of March, the King wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington, informing him that his Majesty anticipated so much difficulty in the attempt to form another administration,

that he could not dispense with our services; that he must therefore desire us to withdraw our resignation, and that we were at liberty to proceed with the measures of which notice had been given in Parliament.

"The Duke of Wellington sent immediately this letter to me; I kept no copy of it, and am giving from memory the purport of this and the following communications with the King on the same subject.

"Either the Duke of Wellington observed in sending this letter to me, or I suggested to the Duke in returning it, that after what had passed in the morning, the mere permission by his Majesty to proceed with the measures, was not sufficient authority; and that we ought to make a further reference to the King for the purpose of ascertaining distinctly, whether we were authorized to assure Parliament that the measures in contemplation were proposed by us with the entire consent and sanction of his Majesty.

"Accordingly, a reference to this effect was made to his Majesty in the course of the night, and an answer was received from the King, giving us full authority to proceed with the measures in question.

"For the purpose of silencing all cavil on this subject, in opening those measures on the following day in the House of Commons, I commenced my speech in this manner:—

"'I rise as a Minister of the King, and sustained by the just authority which belongs to that character, to vindicate the advice given to his Majesty by an united Cabinet,'"* &c., &c.

* "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," published by the Trustees of his papers. Vol. 1, p. 542, et seqq.

APPENDIX B.

O'CONNELL CENTENARY NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mansion House,
Dublin, 21st May, 1875.

SIR,

We have great pleasure in laying before you, by direction of the Committee, a copy of the Programme of the coming Ceremonial of the National Celebration of the O'Connell Centenary—a programme adopted, after long and mature consideration, by this Committee. It has been framed with a view to give full effect to the unanimously expressed desire of the country to render the National Celebration worthy of Ireland, by rendering it worthy of O'Connell.

This programme indicates the great outlines only of the features of the Ceremonial; yet we trust with sufficient clearness and fulness to convince you that to carry out the Celebration in all its details, and secure its success, considerable funds will be required. We respectfully request your active co-operation and influence to aid us in this great National Ceremonial, and shall be happy to receive your subscription towards the heavy expenses incidental to the occasion.

We are, Sir,

Your very obedient servants,

PETER PAUL M'SWINEY, Lord Mayor, *President,*
ANDREW O'CONNELL, D.D., P.P., *Dean,*
JAMES POWER, *Bart.,*
CHARLES BIANCONI, D.L.,
JOSEPH M'CANN, *Alderman,*
} *Trustees.*

PROGRAMME

OF THE

NATIONAL CELEBRATION.

The Celebration of the Hundredth Birthday of th
mortal O'Connell, born 6th August, 1775, will take
in the Irish metropolis on Thursday, the 5th; Frida
6th; and Saturday, the 7th of August next.

THURSDAY.

The Celebration will open this morning with a S
Religious Ceremonial in the Cathedral, Marlborough-
at which His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of I
will preside, and at which the Irish and other Ca
prelates will assist. Very Rev. Father Burke, O.P
preach on the occasion. At three o'clock, Mendels
Grand Oratorio, "Elijah," will be given in the Grea
cert Hall of the Exhibition Palace, with full orchest
chorus. Conductor, Joseph Robinson, Esq.; L
R. M. Levey, Esq. At eight o'clock there will be a
Miscellaneous Concert of Selected Irish Music, in th
hibition Palace. Conductor, Joseph Robinson,
Leader, R. M. Levey, Esq. In the course of the e
will be recited the Centenary Ode, by Denis Fl
M'Carthy, M.R.I.A.

FRIDAY (the Centenary).

At ten o'clock the several bodies to form the Gran
cession from the City Mansion House will assem
Stephen's-green, and other available sites to be he
indicated, and join in their assigned order. The rou
be so cast as to cover some miles of the city, it's termi
being the site of the National Monument, Sackville
where the Oration on the Centenary will be deliver
the evening there will be grand banquets and balls

SATURDAY.

Excursions from Dublin to the chief scenic and historical districts in the country will be arranged. Boat races on the river, for which a valuable Commemoration Cup and other prizes will be offered for National competition. At eight o'clock, in the Exhibition Palace, Glover's Cantata, "St. Patrick at Tara," with a selection of Irish music. Conductor, Professor Glover. Bands will perform, and brilliant displays of Fireworks will be given at various parts of the city.

A Reception Committee will sit daily at the Mansion House, and afford all necessary information to visitors to the Ceremonial.

Signed on behalf of the National Committee,

PETER PAUL M'SWINEY, Lord Mayor, *President.*

Mansion House,
Dublin, 21st May, 1875

THE END.

Recently Published,

THE HISTORY

OF THE

GREAT IRISH FAMINE OF 1847,

WITH NOTICES OF EARLIER IRISH FAMINES.

BY THE

REV. JOHN O'ROURKE, P.P., M.R.I.A.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"THE readers of Father O'Rourke's book will be able to comprehend how it was that two millions of people perished in a Christian land, and in the centre of the very richest empire on the globe. From the perusal of "The History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847," it will strike them that never before did they find the sources of that tremendous catastrophe so intelligibly traced, and the causes of its dire prolongation so lucidly set out. They will further own that until this graphic and masterly picture was presented to them their conception of the famine was defective, and lacked that feature of horrible magnitude which ranks it among the most terrific scourges ever inflicted upon a nation."—*Freeman's Journal.*

"It is by no means a mere compilation. The writer evidently prepared himself for his task, by a long and careful examination of the materials which were procurable by diligent searching."—*Irish Times.*

"But as the eye-witnesses of the famine and the fever-plague are every day becoming more few, all the more reason was there for the accomplishment, in our time, of the work which has been so ably performed by the Rev. Father O'Rourke. . . . The work was undertaken from a sense of duty, and in that *spirit* it has been performed. . . . . His style is

historical rather than emotional.... There is evident self-restraint throughout his work—that calmness of temper and moderation of language which suit at once the reverend writer and his awful narrative, but through which one can still see the lip trembling, and the eye grown moist with tears."—*Nation.*

"The story of the famine has not actually been unwritten, but this is the first case we know of in which the dreadful epoch has been treated as the sole subject of an important work, and with the fullness and careful working out of detail which its sad dignity demands. Now it has been done and well done. The large volume, with its ample notes and references, which the Rev. Mr. O'Rourke has produced, may well take its place amongst the very best literature springing from and relating to Ireland. It is the work of a patriot and a scholar; it is done by a loving and a careful hand."—*Cork Examiner.*

"All the subject matter is skilfully arranged, and the various important extracts ably commented upon. We might add, that it is the first complete work which has yet been written upon the Irish Famine, and one which records, in truthful and impressive language, every circumstance connected with that terrible event. The style is graphic, lucid, and concise; the arguments logical and forcible, whilst some of the passages are marked by an elegance of diction, and a simple, unaffected eloquence which immediately command our attention, and appeal strongly to the noblest emotions of the mind."—*West Cork Eagle.*

"We do not say, indeed, that Mr. O'Rourke is not a labourious and patient compiler, and he has put together a variety of details which are of real use to a student of the time, and throw a good deal of light on his subject."—*London Times.*

"A curious episode of this disastrous period was the controversy about Soyer's soup, to which Mr. O'Rourke devotes some attention. M. Soyer had been despatched to Ireland to show how soup could be made on the cheapest terms. One hundred gallons could be produced for £1, and a 'bellyful of this once a day with a biscuit' was, in the inventor's opinion,

sufficient to maintain a strong and healthy man. It turned out, however, that M. Soyer was thinking more of the palate than of the stomach. He declared he could make good soup without any meat at all, and that he considered meat of no more value than the other ingredients, intended to give a flavour. Experience showed that, whatever might be the quality of M. Soyer's soup, a soft semi-liquid diet was hardly suited to labouring people."—*Saturday Review.*

"To write the history of that terrible time—to depict the wretchedness of the people—to show that they were dying in their own beautiful country because the potato failed, while their lives could have been spared if they had seized the food that had been sent out of the country in shiploads, or if the government had insisted that this food should be distributed among the people, whose ordinary food had been swept out of existence in one fatal night—this is the great task the Rev. Mr. O'Rourke has set himself. He has performed it well, and the country should heartily thank him. He has done a good work—he has served his native land."—*Irish American.*

"The history of the Irish famine is just published by M'Glashan and Gill of Dublin, from the pen of the Rev. John O'Rourke, P.P., M.R.I.A., Maynooth, county Kildare. The earlier chapters of this portly volume of six hundred pages are devoted to the history of the potato. . . . . What a terrible story this of the famine is? . . . . . The story is brief. The calamity found Ireland with eight and a-half millions of population, and when the next census was taken (1851), the population was reduced by death and emigration to six and a-half millions. At the present time it is five and a-half millions. . . . . To the Irish in America who, fortunately for them, had moved away before the potato-rot, the volume will be a sad picture of the suffering they escaped and mayhap their friends endured. To the future Bancroft or Motley who, from a distance, may grapple with modern English history, the volume will be invaluable."—*Newark Daily Advertiser.*

HOLLY AND IVY

FOR THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

BY ANTHONY EVERGREEN.

DUFFYS: Dublin and London.

"THE public will welcome, with renewed pleasure, the re-appearance of this book, which requires scarcely a notice at our hands, beyond the announcement of its publication. . . . . We are glad to find appended a series of ballads, amongst which we would direct the attention of the reader to "The Millions must be Free;" "Pro and Con;" "The Fate of O'Rourke." Those indicate the quality, in a high degree, of the "spark divine" of poetic genius in the author."—*Freeman's Journal.*

"The most eventful period in Ireland, in the present century, was the time of the famine. Its history is yet to be written; not such a record as will give us merely the dry bones of statistics, but one that will supply us with facts, and the human figures that were grouped around them." [The History of the Famine was not published when this was written.] "It is not a history of the famine times; it is a story —graphic and life-like—of Irish suffering and Irish virtues in the famine year."—*Nation.*

"The story is descriptive of some of the thrilling incidents that marked the fearful famine of 1847 in this country, including the horrors of the workhouse, evictions, and the heart-rending agonies of the 'exodus.'"—*Tuam Herald.*

"The whole picture is quite natural, because true to life."—*Evening Post.*

"This is quite a gem of a Christmas book. . . . . *It is a* very pretty story of Irish peasant life, written *from the* Catholic point of view."—National Review.